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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Inspectors Visit Belgium for INF Inspection *[TASS]* 1
Teams Conclude Inspection 1
Commentary Views USSR, U.S. Nuclear Tests 1

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Foreign Ministry's Gerasimov Briefs Press 1 Nov 2
Calls Coup Rumors 'Speculations' *[TASS]* 2
On Specialists in Iraq *[Moscow Radio]* 2
On Adherence to Iraq Sanctions *[TASS]* 2
On UN Military Staff Committee Meeting *[TASS]* 3
On Support for Nicaraguan 'National Pact' *[TASS]* 3
On Relations With Israel *[TASS]* 3
On Czech Premier's Visit *[TASS]* 4
On Black Sea Protection Convention *[TASS]* 4
Welcomes Balkan Countries' Cooperation *[TASS]* 4
On CSCE Mediterranean Summit *[TASS]* 4
Reiterates No Murmansk Nuclear Dump *[TASS]* 5
Shevardnadze on 'Domestic Instability,' Arms *[Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA 25 Oct]* 5
World Methodist Council Prize for Gorbachev *[TASS]* 6
NATO-Warsaw Pact Joint Maneuvers Rethink Urged *[IZVESTIYA 27 Oct]* 6

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

U.S. Anti-Satellite Weapons Development Viewed *[Cherynshev on TASS]* 7
U.S.-Soviet Information, Culture Seminar Opens *[TASS]* 7
Petrovskiy on 'New World Order' *[TASS]* 7
U.S. 'Changing' Afghan Policy Examined *[TASS]* 8

China

PRC Envoy Protests Contacts With Taiwan *[TASS]* 8
Belousov-Led Delegation Ends Visit to China *[TASS]* 9
China, Japan Dispute Over Islands Reopens *[Moscow International]* 9

Northeast Asia

Primakov, Japanese Envoy View Gulf Crisis *[Tokyo KYODO]* 9
Talks Planned on Peace Treaty With Japan *[Tokyo KYODO]* 10
ROK F-18 Purchase May Upset Military Balance *[Moscow International]* 10

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Improvement, Obstacles in Thai-Vietnamese Ties *[Moscow International]* 11
Drug Problems in Burma Seen as Far Reaching *[Moscow International]* 11
Talks on U.S. Bases in Philippines Continue *[Moscow International]* 12

Near East & South Asia

Trade With Saudi Arabia Expected To Develop *[TASS]* 12
Egyptian Envoy Shares Views on Gulf, Ties *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 26 Oct]* 13
Youth Paper Urges Noninvolvement in Gulf *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 25 Oct]* 14
Intervention Sought in Israel To Ease Tension *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 25 Oct]* 15
Border-Crossing Regulations With Iran Eased *[TASS]* 16
Commentary Views Steps to Stability in Iran *[Radio Peace and Progress]* 16
Visiting Lebanese Communist Leader Interviewed *[TASS]* 17

East Europe

Poland's Skubiszewski Interviewed on Relations *[NEW TIMES No 43]* 18

West Europe

Gorbachev Awarded German Peace Medal *[TASS]* 19
FRG Commander Views Ties With Soviet Servicemen *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 27 Oct]* 19
Housing Program for Servicemen in Germany Viewed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 30 Oct]* 21
Moiseyev, Finnish Admiral View Security Issues *[TASS]* 22
TASS Reports New Envoy to Luxembourg 23

Latin America & Caribbean

Cuban Official Criticizes U.S. Economic Blockade *[PRAVDA 26 Oct]* 23
Cuban Aid to Chernobyl Victims, Ties Defended *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 27 Oct]* 23
Shenin Ends Visit to Cuba, Evaluates Ties *[TASS]* 24

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Supreme Soviet

Presidium Bans Counter National Day Rallies *[PRAVDA 2 Nov]* 26
'Alternative' Events Ban Justified *[Moscow Radio]* 26
Committees, Commissions Hold Sessions 1 Nov *[Moscow TV]* 26
Defense Committee Examines Conversion Bill *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 28 Oct]* 27
Council Discusses Crimean Tatars' Resettlement *[TASS]* 28

Political & Social

Gorbachev Holds Dialogue With Students 1 Nov *[Moscow Radio]* 28
Ryzhkov, Dzasokhov Remarks Noted *[Moscow TV]* 33
Ryzhkov Speaks to Youth Radio *[Moscow Radio]* 34
Students on 1-Day Hunger Strike in Moscow *[TASS]* 35
Students' Hunger Strike Ends *[TASS]* 35
Gorbachev Meets With Dead Soldiers' Parents *[PRAVDA 2 Nov]* 36
TASS Analyst Forecasts Economic 'Chaos' *[TASS]* 36
Arbatov Promotes Program for 'World Outlook' *[TASS]* 36
Medvedev Views Historical Context of Perestroyka *[TASS]* 37
Study Views Public Attitudes on Lenin, Leninism *[Moscow International]* 38
Trade Union Confederation Head Explains New Group *[TASS]* 38
Yarin, Shcherbakov Diverge on Trade Unions *[TRUD 23 Oct]* 38
Lukyanov Meets Political Party Leaders in Moscow *[TASS]* 39
Lukyanov Calls for Cooperation *[Moscow TV]* 39
Democratic Movements in CPSU Plan Conference *[PRAVDA 31 Oct]* 39
'Unofficial' Court Tries CPSU on 'Abuse' *[Moscow International]* 40
Conference Opens on Interethnic Movement *[TASS]* 40
Committee Issues Constitutionality Decisions *[IZVESTIYA 28 Oct]* 40
Law on Compulsory Transit Insurance Amended *[IZVESTIYA 28 Oct]* 41
Nobel Congratulations to Gorbachev Listed *[IZVESTIYA 25 Oct]* 41
USSR Writers' Conference Issues Appeal *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 23 Oct]* 41

English-Language Business Journal Published *[TASS]* 43
Cultural Magazine Editor Describes Contents *[Moscow TV]* 43
Magazine Editor Describes Subscription Problems *[Moscow TV]* 43
Latest IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS Contents Described *[PRAVDA 28 Oct]* 44
Central TV To Charge for Program Listings *[PRAVDA 27 Oct]* 44
Ligachev Views Post-Retirement Political Life *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 43]* 44

Economic

Petrakov Interviewed on Economic Reform Plan *[Madrid ABC 26 Oct]* 45
Official Details New Ruble Exchange Rates *[Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT 31 Oct]* 46
Orlov Considers 'Marshall Plan' To Aid Reform *[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA No 41]* 47
Former Envoy Cautious on Polish Market Model *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 25 Oct]* 51
'Sociologists' Debate Reform's Impact on Society *[IZVESTIYA 26 Oct]* 54

Agricultural

'Critical' Conditions Imperil Kustanay Grain *[IZVESTIYA 22 Oct]* 56
Agro-Industrial Exchange Opens in Ryazan *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 30 Oct]* 56
Winter Difficulties Foreseen in Livestock Raising *[IZVESTIYA 29 Oct]* 56

Scientific

Mir Cosmonauts' Attempts To Repair Hatch Detailed *[Moscow TV]* 57
World Scientific Research Flight Planned *[Moscow TV]* 57

Military

Troop Rehearsals for Red Square Parade Reported *[Moscow TV]* 57
Leningrad Troops Not for Offensive Operations *[PRAVDA 26 Oct]* 58
Space Unit Political Officers Discuss Reform *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 30 Oct]* 58
NOVOSTI Writer on Decrees Affecting Soviet Army *[POLSKA ZBROJNA 24 Oct]* 58
Defense Ministry Opens Public Inquiry Desk *[Moscow Radio]* 59
Army Hunger Striker To Be Disciplined *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 28 Oct]* 59

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Baltic Republics

Lithuanian Political Consultations Held in Prague *[Moscow Radio]* 61
Klaipeda Authorities' Actions Spark Anxiety *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 25 Oct]* 61
Fate of Lithuanian Gold Held Abroad Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 29 Oct]* 62
Lithuanian Criminal Code Changes Published *[PRAVDA 1 Nov]* 63
Latvian Premier Meets Enterprise Directors *[TASS]* 64
Latvian Daily Warns Against 'Angering' Military *[TASS]* 64
Estonia Denies Selling Grain to Israel *[Tallinn Radio]* 65
Commander Insists Tallinn Parade 'Will Be Held' *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 31 Oct]* 65
Estonian Committee Protests 7 Nov Celebrations *[Tallinn Radio]* 65
Estonia To Consider Monetary Reform in Nov *[TASS]* 65

RSFSR

Coverage of RSFSR Supreme Soviet Proceedings 65
Lively Constitutional Debate Noted *[TASS]* 65
Silayev Interviewed on RSFSR 500 Days Program *[Moscow TV]* 66
Russian Social Development Fund Established *[TASS]* 66
RSFSR Republic, Nationalities Councils Meet *[Moscow TV]* 67
RSFSR, Kazakh Leaders Cited on Agreement *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 30 Oct]* 67
Democratic Russia Leader Discusses Group's Plans *[VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA 20 Oct]* 68
Popov Interrupts Japan Visit To Go to Taiwan *[IZVESTIYA 30 Oct]* 69
Comments on Taiwan Trip *[Moscow International]* 70

Stankevich Rejects Excessive Travel Charge *[IZVESTIYA 29 Oct]* 70
Ration Cards Introduced in Karelia 1 Nov *[Moscow Radio]* 70
Southern Urals Plutonioum Plant Decommissioned *[TASS]* 70
6 Killed in Urals Chemical Plant Explosion *[TASS]* 71
Omsk Soviet Seeks Approval for 'Open City' Status *[IZVESTIYA 25 Oct]* 71
North Ossetia Water Contaminated By Kerosene *[Moscow Radio]* 71
New Russian Legislature Publications Available *[Moscow Radio]* 71
Rayon TV Station on Air in Ryazan Oblast *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 30 Oct]* 72

Western Republics

Coverage of Crisis Situation in Gagauz Republic 72
Paper Details Situation *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 30 Oct]* 72
'Anti-Army' Actions Criticized *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 31 Oct]* 73
Situation 'Still Complex' *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 31 Oct]* 73
'Anticommunist Hysteria' Viewed *[PRAVDA 31 Oct]* 74
Situation Reportedly 'Easing' *[Moscow TV]* 74
Moldavian Legislature Meets *[TASS]* 75
CPSU Statement on Events *[Moscow Radio]* 75
Snegur Comments on Crisis *[Moscow TV]* 75
Situation 'Somewhat Stabilized' *[TASS]* 76
Gorbachev Meets With Luchinskiy *[AFP]* 76
'Extremists' Attack MVD Column *[Moscow Radio]* 76
Soviet Commander Comments *[TASS]* 76
Moldavia's Snegur Discusses Republic Developments *[IZVESTIYA 23 Oct]* 77
Iliescu Denounces Claim to Moldavian Territories *[TASS]* 79
Romanians Demonstrate Supporting Moldavians *[Moscow TV]* 79
Moldavia Imposes Export Tax on Produce *[SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA 20 Oct]* 80
Kravchuk Discusses Ukrainian Politics *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 28 oct]* 81
Rukh Declares Itself 'Opposition' to Communists *[IZVESTIYA 29 Oct]* 81
Ternopol Decides Not To Mark 7 Nov Holiday *[Moscow TV]* 81
Ukraine Makes Decision on Church Buildings *[IZVESTIYA 31 Oct]* 81
Ukraine To Investigate Faulty Nuclear Plant *[TASS]* 82
UN Delegates Sponsor Chernobyl Resolution *[TASS]* 82
Belorussia Appeals For Orderly Army Call-Up *[Minsk Radio]* 82
Ondarza Visits Belorussian Military District *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 28 Oct]* 83

Caucasus

Georgian Supreme Soviet Election Results Published *[AFP]* 83
Gamsakhurdia Outlines Plans *[Moscow TV]* 83
Yerevan Doubts Economic Benefits of New Treaty *[Yerevan Radio]* 84
Coverage of Armenian Supreme Soviet Proceedings 84
Property Law Endorsed *[Yerevan International]* 84
New Appointments Debated *[ARMENPRES]* 84
Armenia Seeks Ties With Other Republics *[GOLOG ARMENII 12 Oct]* 85
Armenian Word 'Nakharar' To Replace 'Minister' *[ARMENPRES]* 86
Prosecutors Reportedly Agree on Regular Meetings *[IZVESTIYA 29 Oct]* 86
Azerbaijan, Turkey Develop Transport Links *[TASS]* 86
Azerbaijan Rail Traffic Resumes After Accident *[TASS]* 86
Mutalibov Asks Armenian Deputy To Leave NKAO *[Yerevan Radio]* 86
Trade Union Council Endorses NKAO's Membership *[Yerevan Domestic]* 87

Central Asia

Kirghiz Legislature Votes on Military Service *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 30 Oct]* 87
Tajik Draft Decision Complicates Military's Work *[IZVESTIYA 31 Oct]* 88
Niyazov Interviewed on State, Party Postings *[Moscow Radio]* 88
Favors New Union Treaty *[Moscow Radio]* 88
Uzbekistan President Views Interethnic Relations *[TASS]* 89
Uzbekistan Supreme Soviet Session Continues *[Tashkent Radio]* 89
Russian-Speakers' Rights Examined *[Moscow TV]* 90

Inspectors Visit Belgium for INF Inspection

LD3010222790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1638 GMT 30 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Simonenko]

[Excerpt] Brussels, 30 Oct (TASS)—A group of Soviet inspectors arrived in Belgium today. In accordance with the clauses on monitoring the fulfillment of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of medium and shorter-range missiles, they will carry out an inspection on the territory of the country. [passage omitted]

Teams Conclude Inspection

LD0111221190 Moscow TASS in English 2152 GMT 1 Nov 90

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Simonenko]

[Text] Brussels November 2 TASS—The Soviet side on Thursday ended inspection in Belgium within the framework of the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty.

Two groups of inspectors, including representatives from the Soviet defence and foreign ministries and industrial specialists, visited the European centre for cruise missile maintenance in Gosselies near Charleroi and a military base near Florennes.

U.S. nuclear missiles were moved from Florennes to the United States in December 1988. As for Gosselies, the U.S. side said there are no cruise missiles there.

Head of a Soviet group A. Kuznetsov told TASS that this was the fourth inspection in Belgium after the INF Treaty had been signed. "We are satisfied with the results of the inspection. Belgian and U.S. officials have done everything in their power to help our mission," he said.

Commentary Views USSR, U.S. Nuclear Tests

LD3010204190 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Excerpts] A report about the nuclear blast conducted in Novoya Zemlya last week was delivered at the Monday plenary session of the Soviet parliament. MP's confirmed their determination to work for a complete termination of tests by all nuclear powers, and favored tougher control over the Soviet nuclear program. Yuriy Solton makes these comments:

The public in the Soviet Union and Nordic countries protested against the nuclear explosion in Novoya Zemlya. It's quite possible that this will be the first and last blast in the Soviet Union this year. As for the future, not everything depends on this country.

I don't belong to those who stand for unilateral nuclear disarmament. As long as nuclear weapons remain and are modernized, their reliability must be tested and parity maintained, and this means tests will continue. It's a different matter if all nuclear powers declare a moratorium on explosions, but this hasn't happened yet. [passage omitted] I'm not calling for a competition in the number of blasts, of course, but in the present conditions the Soviet Union is forced to conduct a certain minimum of tests. [passage omitted]

It's fine that in the United States, nuclear explosions have also become less frequent, but to my mind, their number is still quite great. There's one more thing that worries me. United States Energy Department, that's responsible for the development of new types of nuclear weapons and their tests, in an official report, has suggested postponing by 10 years the decision on additional restrictions on American nuclear tests so as not to damage national security. If the suggestion is accepted we'll all have to wait till the beginning of the next century before any notable steps are taken to reduce nuclear blasts. However, with the current rapid course of international developments, I'm, sure this will happen much sooner.

In this connection I would like to draw your attention to the recent Soviet proposal to UN countries on the world parliamentary referendum on nuclear tests. I think the verdict of such an influential organization would affect the policies of nuclear powers and speed up the solution of the problem of a general and complete ban on nuclear tests. [passage omitted]

Foreign Ministry's Gerasimov Briefs Press 1 Nov

Calls Coup Rumors 'Speculations'

LD0111161390 Moscow TASS in English 1543 GMT 1 Nov 90

[By TASS Diplomatic Corresponents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—At the request of correspondents accredited here, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov today commented on rumours circulated these days by the American and other mass media on a possible military coup in the USSR.

Gerasimov described these and previous reports by the Western media as "speculations."

He suggested that foreign journalists should be guided by a statement of Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov at the Soviet parliament while assessing such rumours.

The defence minister authoritatively explained that there is no threat of a military coup in our country," Gerasimov said.

On Specialists in Iraq

LD0111212390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] At a USSR Foreign Ministry news briefing today for Soviet and foreign journalists, Gerasimov, head of the Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, spoke in detail on how the Soviet Union was implementing the well-known Security Council resolution on the economic blockade of Iraq. He said, in part:

[Begin Gerasimov recording] Deliveries connected with export and import operations have been completely halted, including supplies of equipment, materials, spares, and other freight. The sending of specialists has been halted. All kinds of financial transactions with Iraq have ended. The recall of Soviet specialists to the Soviet Union is continuing. Flights of Aeroflot planes to Iraq are being made only to bring Soviet specialists out. Moreover, so that an inspection can be carried out, at the request of the Turkish side, Aeroflot flights to Baghdad involve a stop-over in Ankara.

The Ministry of Defense has curtailed military-technical cooperation with Iraq, including deliveries of military hardware and weapons. It has stopped sending Soviet military specialists and is not extending their tours in the country. Ships carrying military cargo that were heading for Iraq have been turned back. As their contractual obligations come to an end, military specialists are returning to the Soviet Union. Since the start of the conflict, all members of the military specialists' families, numbering 216 persons, as well as 73 military specialists and eight interpreters, have been evacuated from Iraq. At present, there are 93 Soviet military specialists in Iraq assisted by 40 interpreters. [end recording]

On Adherence to Iraq Sanctions

LD0111162390 Moscow TASS in English 1537 GMT 1 Nov 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—The Soviet Union began implementing U.N. Security Council Resolution 661, imposing economic sanctions against Iraq, from the date of its adoption, says a letter by the USSR U.N. mission addressed to the United Nations secretary-general last Wednesday.

Acquainting journalists accredited here with the content of the letter at a briefing today, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov noted that Soviet ministries and agencies cut off all export deliveries to Iraq, including the supplies of equipment, materials, spare parts and other cargoes to carry out work on investment projects and stopped sending specialists. The Soviet Union also ceased all types of financial transactions with Iraq.

Gerasimov said that Soviet specialists, who give assistance to Iraq in building projects, continued to leave that country. Their number dwindled from 7,300 to 3,800 by October 25. Another 29 Soviet citizens will return home by an Aeroflot flight on Friday.

In fulfilling the Soviet Government's instructions, the Civil Aviation Ministry banned acceptance for the transportation of cargoes, with the exception of mail, by Aeroflot flights to Baghdad. It was also prohibited to lease Aeroflot planes, which can be used to provide aid to Iraq. Aeroflot aircraft flights to Kuwait were halted. Aeroflot planes transporting Soviet specialists from Iraq land in Ankara, at the request of the Turkish side, for an inspection.

The Soviet Union suspended military-technical cooperation with Iraq along the line of the USSR Defence Minstry, including the supplies of military specialists and the extension of the terms for their stay in Iraq, Gerasimov said.

According to Gerasimov, 93 Soviet military specialists and 40 translators are left in Iraq at present. Sea-going transport with military cargoes destined for Iraq was returned to the USSR.

Gerasimov then touched on the difficulties encountered by the Soviet Union during the fulfilment of U.N. Security Council Resolution 661. He noted that a problem with the supply of food to Soviet citizens remaining in Iraq had emerged.

Gerasimov said that the re-export of oil, which Baghdad supplied to the USSR to pay off its debts under previous Soviet credits, to Bulgaria and India was terminated due to the blockade of the Iraqi oil terminals. Honouring the commitments to Bulgaria and India by oil deliveries

from the USSR's own sources creates additional difficulties. For instance, the unfavourable balance in Soviet-Indian financial relations may reach a billion roubles by the end of the year.

Nevertheless, the Soviet Union is ready to continue active cooperation with the U.N. Security Council Committee on Sanctions to make sure that resolution 661 is effectively implemented.

On UN Military Staff Committee Meeting

LD0111182890 Moscow TASS in English 1726 GMT 1 Nov 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—The Soviet Union suggested a meeting of an informal working group of the U.N. Security Council Military Staff Committee, which was held in New York on Monday, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

The meeting discussed the crisis in the Gulf.

The meeting was attended by representatives of the General Staffs of France, the United States and the USSR, the permanent representatives of the Armed Forces of Britain and China, as well as the ambassadors of the U.N. Security Council permanent member- countries.

Gerasimov called attention to the fact that the high-level meeting of the committee was the first in the post-war period.

The military and diplomats focused on the Gulf situation and work to ensure the implementation of Security Council resolutions 661, 665 and 670. The meeting also appraised the efficiency of sanctions imposed on Iraq by the international community.

The Soviet Side, represented by deputy chief of the Soviet General Staff Boris Amelichev and Soviet chief delegate Yuliy Vorontsov expressed confidence that joint efforts would defuse the crisis and restore peace in the region.

Soviet participants proposed that the committee examine unbiased forecasts of possible developments in the Gulf and their consequences at its following meetings.

A proposal was also made to consider ways to prevent unauthorised use of force and an armed conflict in the Gulf as a result of possible provocations and incidents.

In the opinion of the Soviet side, Vorontsov said, the committee's working body should study organisational measures so this body could operate as a mechanism to prepare and coordinate compulsary actions in compliance with the U.N. Charter.

Commenting, at reporters' request, on a bill in the Japanese parliament examining Japan's possible military cooperation with the United Nations in the Gulf, Gerasimov said that, in his opinion, it was unwise to send Japanese Self-Defence troops to the conflict zone, since foreign troops in the Gulf had been sent there not under a U.N. resolution but at the request of the Saudi Government.

On Support for Nicaraguan 'National Pact'

LD0111154590 Moscow TASS in English 1458 GMT 1 Nov 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—The signing of the "national pact" in Nicaragua is "an important illustration of the possibility to find mutually acceptable decisions at the negotiating table," Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

He was referring to the document signed in Nicaragua recently, which should ensure the population's support of the government's efforts to overcome the serious social and economic crisis. According to reports from Managua, the signing of the document resulted from the national dialogue with the participation of representatives of the authorities, businessmen and trade unions.

The national pact is an illustration of the "growing understanding of the need of stability and peace in the name of economic progress and national reconciliation in Nicaragua," Gerasimov said.

"Such an approach finds full understanding and support in the Soviet Union," he said.

On Relations With Israel

LD0111163790 Moscow TASS in English 1546 GMT 1 Nov 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—At a briefing here today, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov strongly refuted the supposition that the delay in transforming the consular groups into the general consulates of the USSR in Israel and of Israel in the USSR is politically motivated.

The agreement to normalise consular relations between the USSR and Israel was reached during the talks between the Soviet and Israeli foreign ministers in New York on September 30, 1990.

Asked if the delay was linked with Israel's refusal to allow the commission investigating the recent violence against Palestinians into Jerusalem, Gerasimov said: "The reasons are bureaucratic rather than political. The agreement to transform the consular groups into general consulates was reached on September 30. I think that the slow-moving

bureaucracy will soon finalise this work and the consulates will be turned into general consulates."

On Czech Premier's Visit

LD0111163390 Moscow TASS in English 1513 GMT 1 Nov 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—Soviet oil supplies to Czechoslovakia were high on the agenda for Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa's recent visit to the Soviet Union, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

Czechoslovakia asked for 13 million tonnes of oil to be delivered by the Soviet Union in 1991.

"The Soviet side paid great attention to this request," Gerasimov said.

"The sides agreed that their experts will jointly study ways of maximally satisfying Czechoslovakia's requirements in oil," he said.

The Soviet Union will deliver oil to Czechoslovakia "for hard currency or in return for machinery to develop the oil industry which the Soviet Union buys for hard currency," the spokesman said.

During the talks sides expressed satisfaction over their interaction as regards the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia, he said.

"They said it is necessary to speed up work on settling associated property and legal issues," he stressed.

On Black Sea Protection Convention

LD0111144290 Moscow TASS in English 1436 GMT 1 Oct 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—Soviet, Bulgarian, Romanian and Turkish experts have held a conference in the Soviet Foreign Ministry on a convention to protect the Black Sea against pollution and on three protocols to it, ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

He said the experts agreed in principle that a diplomatic conference to adopt the convention and the protocols should take place early next year. The specific time frame, as well as the venue, will be agreed upon later through diplomatic channels, according to Gerasimov.

He said that the Moscow conference, also attended by representatives of two Soviet constituent republics—Russia and the Ukraine, discussed future cooperation with the U.N. Environment Programme (UNEP) and other international organisations on environmental protection in the Black Sea.

"All participants agreed about the positive outlook for such cooperation," Gerasimov said.

Welcomes Balkan Countries' Cooperation

LD0111135190 Moscow TASS in English 1334 GMT 1 Nov 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—The Soviet Union is closely monitoring Balkan countries' efforts to increase stability and improve mutual understanding in their region, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said today in a comment on a recent meeting of the Balkan countries' foreign ministers in Tirana.

The meeting was capped by a joint communique and an address to the forthcoming Paris summit of the states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

Commenting on the address at a briefing here, Gerasimov said that the Soviet Union "welcomes and supports the desire of its southern neighbours to develop multilateral cooperation as part of common efforts to promote and consolidate the CSCE process."

On CSCE Mediterranean Summit

LD0111160890 Moscow TASS in English 1504 GMT 1 Nov 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—The recent CSCE conference on the Mediterranean in Palma de Mallorca made a "substantial contribution" to preparations for the CSCE summit to be held in Paris between November 19-21, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

The Palma de Mallorca conference, held between September 24 and October 19 in compliance with a decision of the Vienna meeting, adopted the final document "Report of the Conference on the Mediterranean to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe."

Describing this document, Gerasimov said: "We believe that it breaks new ground in the establishment of a new system of cooperation in the Mediterranean."

The spokesman noted with satisfaction that the document incorporated several proposals by the Soviet delegation. Gerasimov said that "the proposals provide for convening an economic forum on the development of cooperation between Mediterranean countries, the development of transport infrastructure, assistance in establishing joint ventures and some others."

"Understandings reached in Palma de Mallorca open broad opportunities to look for the most efficient forms

of cooperation in the region, leaving the states freedom of choice and actions," the spokesman continued.

"The document creates favourable conditions to develop contacts between the Soviet Union and Black Sea union republics, on the one hand, and the littoral Mediterranean states, on the other."

Gerasimov noted that the Soviet delegation included representatives from the Russian Federation, the Ukraine and Georgia.

"According to the Soviet side," Gerasimov said, "the results of this conference, [words indistinct] meeting of the CSCE conference on the human dimension in Copenhagen, which were held within the framework of the CSCE this year, make a considerable contribution to preparations for the Paris summit."

Reiterates No Murmansk Nuclear Dump

LD0111184190 Moscow TASS in English 1747 GMT 1 Nov 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev:]

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—Speaking about the anxiety experienced in Norway in connection with possible burial of Soviet radioactive waste in Murmansk region, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov today repeated his statement made on September 27: "There are no such dumps in the region."

Murmansk regional environmental protection committee main specialist Aleksandr Mikhailov, who also heads the radiation security committee of the Murmansk regional executive committee, told the NOVOSTI News Agency that there are no radioactive waste dumps on the Kola Peninsula.

However, there are depositories for temporary storage of nuclear and radioactive wastes. Such a depository at the Kola nuclear power plant is situated directly in the reactor hall. Spent fuel from ships with nuclear power units is reloaded into special repair- technological vessels, Mikhailov said.

This practice is widely criticised and is potentially dangerous. This makes it essential to build a single interdepartmental depository, accessible both for state control bodies and public control, Mikhailov said.

No decision has yet been taken on the issue, and the construction site has not yet been determined, Mikhailov said. Such an object might be built on the Novaya Zemlya Archipelago or on the Kola Peninsula.

The statements by Gerasimov and Mikhailov are clearly identical. The Soviet side wishes to discuss sharp problems, characteristic of the majority of industrial developed countries, openly.

Shevardnadze on 'Domestic Instability,' Arms

AU3010085190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Oct 90 p 6

[NOVOSTI interview with USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze by Aleksandr Ignatov; place and date not given: "What Worries Me?]

[Text] [Ignatov] In what way is Soviet foreign policy linked to the foreign policies of individual republics?

[Shevardnadze] I do not know what will happen at some later date, especially once the new union treaty is signed, but what the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs is doing at the present time regarding the formation of new European structures is to work for the good of all the republics. The work that is being performed together with our European partners strengthens relations and eliminates mutual confrontation.

[Ignatov] What worries you the most?

[Shevardnadze] Domestic instability of course. Nevertheless, the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs will take account of republican interests, and seek acceptable solutions, and hold discussions if necessary.... Just consider what could happen if our foreign policy did not draw favorable reactions from the West. We would experience additional difficulties. After all, we receive enormous material assistance from abroad in the form of loans on special preferential terms. We have received loans from the FRG and Italy. I am convinced that we will also receive loans from Spain and France. Almost everybody abroad supports us, because we have developed a more civilized foreign policy. Our partners have stopped being afraid of us. The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Mikhail Gorbachev is a step that affirms confidence in us and signifies recognition from the world for our new peace-oriented way of thinking.

I think Europe is interested in the stability of the Soviet Union and our foreign policy. That is why they are prepared to cooperate with us. Many states are perfectly well aware of the conflicts that exist in our country, but they still decide to sign agreements with us.

[Ignatov] What are relations between the foreign service and the military like? As we know, Soviet foreign policy was recently subjected to criticism in the Supreme Soviet.

[Shevardnadze] Our relations are normal. Negotiations are a difficult process, especially when they pertain to such sensitive areas as defense and security. It is hard for us to give up our weapons and part of our military capacity. However, when we are engaged in negotiations we have to take account of other people's interests. In the past this was something that we were not particularly concerned about. That is why formulating our position sometimes takes too long. We discuss things at length, but this helps us to avoid mistakes and provides better guarantees.

People in the military say that we are cutting back on our weapons, but the West is not. On 17 October I held talks with U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney. He said the Pentagon is to receive $18 billion less next year. Over the

next four to five years, the United States plans to reduce its defense budget by at least $180 billion. American forces stationed in Europe will be reduced by 40,000 men. The French and English will institute similar reductions in their forces. I would point out that the FRG will also significantly reduce the size of its forces.

It is not a question of a one-shot action. It is a process in which our interests and what is possible for us to accomplish are also taken into account. Let us say that we have 5,150 aircraft. Whether we have 100 fewer will not be of the slightest importance in relation to the total number. In my opinion, it much better to give up the 100 combat aircraft and sign an arms reduction treaty.

World Methodist Council Prize for Gorbachev

LD3110141290 Moscow TASS in English 1402 GMT 31 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Atarshchikov]

[Text] New York October 31 TASS—The World Methodist Council has conferred its peace award upon Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

This organisation, with its head office in the town of Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, unites Methodist churches from all continents and represents 55 million believers.

In 1976 the council instituted a peace award as a mark of gratitude to political figures for courage, creativity and a consistent approach to the work to strengthen peace. The distinction has already been awarded to 11 people, including former U.S. President Jimmy Carter.

The World Methodist Council conferred the peace award on the Soviet president for his invaluable contribution to the common cause of strengthening peace, ending the cold war and making the world happier, Joe Halen, the council's general secretary, told TASS.

In terms of money the prize is worth 1,000 dollars. A silver commemorative medal will also be presented to the Soviet president. It will bear an engraved inscription: "To Mikhail Gorbachev. For courage, creativity and a consistent approach to strengthening peace".

NATO-Warsaw Pact Joint Maneuvers Rethink Urged

PM0211125190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Oct 90 Union Edition p 6

[Letter from "Patriotic War participant" N.B. Bogdanov of Kiev under the "From the International Departments' Mail" column: "We Have Enemies in Common With the West"]

[Text] The "Repercussions" program "NATO-Warsaw Pact: What Now?" was broadcast on Channel 1 of Central Television 15 August this year.

In that broadcast the question of the possibility of NATO and Warsaw Pact troops' holding joint maneuvers in the future was answered as follows: We hope that this will not happen, and there is no need for joint maneuvers.

I believe that we are mistaken on the last point, and this is why. In a few years' time rulers like the present president of Iraq will probably have both nuclear weapons and vehicles to deliver them to any point on the globe, not excluding Moscow and Washington. And not only this. For it has been reported that the "Action Direct" terrorist group attempted to kidnap a leader of the International Atomic Energy Agency in order to force that organization to provide the terrorists with drawings of a neutron bomb. In any case, with the growth of science and technology, the likelihood of the most sophisticated mass destruction weapons falling into the hands of irresponsible rulers or terrorist groups is increasing rapidly.

The civilized world will only be able to counter this successfully on condition that we have a military and political alliance with Western democracies, as there was during the years of World War II. Thus we probably should not renounce joint maneuvers.

Today we continue to keep a "suspicious" eye on NATO arms, without considering that maybe very soon—sooner than many of us assume—these arms together with ours will come in handy to curb the onslaught of terrorists or aggressively-minded dictators and will serve the interests of all mankind.

Some 50 years ago we made the mistake of taking a hostile attitude toward Western democracies and, at the same time, wrongly evaluating the real enemy—Germany at that time. The mistake resulted in additional millions of casualties, which could have been avoided.

During the postwar decades we continued making the same mistake, frequently supporting undemocratic regimes and, at the same time, regarding the West as our enemy. As a result, we incurred excessive spending on arms, exhausting the state treasury, and overlooked the real danger—the Chernobyl and Aral catastrophes, the growing chemical pollution of the country's territory, the unbalancing of the national economy, and much besides. At the same time the people who were at the summit of power in our country throughout the postwar years knew perfectly well that the West had no intention of attacking us and that they needed the "cold war" and the arms race for totally different reasons.

Today we and the Western democracies once again have common enemies. These are the ecological and nuclear danger, natural disasters, epidemics, terrorism, and the drugs mafia. These enemies are no less formidable than German fascism once was.

If we continue to make mistakes in defining who is our enemy and who is our natural ally, this will entail still greater casualties than those that resulted from our mistake of 50 years ago.

Senseless military rivalry with the West will bring to an end all the plans for improving the people's life and, in the final analysis, will lead to nothing but an ecological, if not a nuclear, disaster.

United States & Canada

U.S. Anti-Satellite Weapons Development Viewed

LD0111183190 Moscow TASS in English 1743 GMT 1 Nov 90

[By TASS military analyst Vladimir Chernyshev]

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—Development of anti-satellite weapons is continuing in the United States. According to the SPACE NEWS weekly, the U.S. Army has placed orders with the Rockwell International Corporation for new-type interceptor missiles to destroy "enemy" satellites. There is a programme to develop a system of anti-satellites weapons by 1995. They will include ground-based laser components.

Frankly speaking, it is difficult to grasp the Pentagon's logic. On the one hand, it agrees that there is no more cold war or any danger of a surprise attack, and, on the other, steps up the efforts to develop anti-satellite weapons. From the strategic point of view, such weapons are intended to preclude the other side's retaliation. Moreover, they create a danger to early warning and emergency communications satellites. Deployment of anti-satellite systems would undermine strategic stability at a time when top U.S. officials do lip service to its consolidation.

And one more thing. Development of anti-satellite weapons contradicts the strategy of "nuclear containment." In American interpretation its purpose is to make all sides refrain from attacking out of fear of prompt retaliation. And can there be any sense in reciprocal "containment" if one side strives to possess weapons capable of lessening the other side's chances to strike back?

One more thing is absolutely clear. The other side will be compelled to take similar steps to avert the danger of the other side's anti-satellite systems. Therefore, any steps to develop anti-satellite weapons are fraught with the danger of the arms race spreading into outer space. It is surprising that some people fail to realise the absurdity of all this in light of the current military-strategic situation.

The Soviet Union has long since offered the United States to conclude an agreement on the complete banning of spatial strike weapons, including anti-satellite systems. It also moved to scrap the already existing armaments of this type. But the U.S. Administration refuses to heed these proposals.

According to U.S. Deputy Assistant Defence Secretary Douglas Graham, the Reagan Administration had arrived at the conclusion that it is impossible to control anti-satellite weapons and that there are no control measures "meeting the interests of U.S. national security."

The Bush Administration got down to a "comprehensive investigation" of the problem, and although it is still under way, the conclusion has already been made that control problems are "unsurmountable."

The Soviet Union is of a different opinion. All difficulties linked with the banning of anti-satellite weapons can be overcome given the desire of both sides. This is even more feasible now that mutual trust has grown substantially between the USSR and the United States, between the East and the West.

U.S.-Soviet Information, Culture Seminar Opens

LD0211102590 Moscow TASS in English 0901 GMT 2 Nov 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Konstantin Voytsekhovich, Mikhail Ivanov, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—The fourth Soviet-American meeting devoted to information and culture exchanges opened in Moscow today.

The delegations from the two countries, led by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrvoskiy and United States Information Agency (USIA) Director Bruce Gelb, include mass media leaders, diplomats, cultural figures, publishers and film-makers.

During the Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington this past summer, two agreements were signed: on establishing Soviet and American cultural and information centres in Washington and Moscow, and on expanding exchanges of higher school students. A memorandum was also signed on the distribution of the Soviet LIFE magazine in the United States and the AMERICA magazine in the Soviet Union.

Participants in this four-day gathering of experts are expected to sum up the results of implementing these agreements and plan further cooperation on the solid long-term partnership basis laid down during the september talks in Helsinki beween the Soviet and American Presidents.

The Soviet delegation this time includes representatives of Union republics and new public associations.

Petrovskiy on 'New World Order'

LD0211114890 Moscow TASS in English 1130 GMT 2 Nov 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Konstantin Voytsekhovich, Mikhail Ivanov, and Georgiy Shelev]

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—"The shaping of the Soviet-U.S. partnership will become a foundation for the new world order's stability in the future," Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy said at the opening of the fourth Soviet-U.S. meeting focusing on information and cultural exchanges here today.

Petrovskiy noted that the talks between the Soviet and U.S. leaders in Malta, Washington and Helsinki "enabled the Soviet-U.S. relations to acquire a new quality—healthy partnership on a stable and long-term foundation."

"We are firmly committed to making the '90s a decade of close rapprochement between our states, peoples and individual citizens," Petrovskiy said.

He expressed the view that the current meeting between Soviet and American experts in information and culture "will help make a self- critical and unbiased review of what had been accomplished and to define what hinders our progress".

Petrovskiy said it was particularly important "to identify new areas for collaborative efforts, mindful of current changes in our countries and the world." He attributed regular contacts between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Congress, the training of personnel for work in conditions of a market economy and more active involvement of the two countries' news organisations in efforts to raise people's educational standards to such new areas.

Speaking about unresolved problems in boosting information contacts, Petrovskiy voiced concern about restrictions on Soviet journalists' work in the United States—the deliberately complicated procedures to accredit, register and organise journalists' tours, the quest for lodgings and admission to official events. He said these restrictions were tighter than those applied to American journalists in the USSR.

U.S. 'Changing' Afghan Policy Examined

LD0111161590 Moscow TASS in English 1525 GMT 1 Nov 90

[By TASS political analyst Yuriy Tyssovskiy]

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—An ASSOCIATED PRESS correspondent has reported from Washington that the United States is changing tactics vis-a-vis Afghanistan. This is being done, he alleges, to "end one of the last wars that is being waged against the USSR with the hands of others".

The report, abounding in quotations from statements by anonymous and named officials, may seem reassuring, but not everything is as simple as all that. It smacks of a deliberate information leak. The timimg of this leak is also rather indicative, since the Soviet and U.S. foreign ministers are expected to meet this month and to discuss the Afghan problem, among others.

There is a saying that "horses must not be changed in midstream". It appears that this is exactly what Washington intends to do. Still adhering to the policy of force, the United States insists that Kabul should be presssured militarily in order to strengthen U.S. positions at the forthcoming talks and to make the USSR more pliable.

The White House knows that it can no longer rely on Afghan opposition leaders in Peshawar. Who then can it rely upon? Only on rebel field commanders? Is this what it means by "new tactics"? The U.S. ambassador to the mujahidin headquarters Peter Tomsen spent all the summer of last year trying to win their favour by supplying U.S. arms to military formations within Afghanistan first and foremost. But he was not much of a success, because the CIA, which implemented these plans, had to rely on Pakistani intelligence in smuggling arms over the border. But the Islamabad establishment has a liking for fundamentalists of the Gulbuddin Hikmatyar-type and not for nationalist-minded "resistance" forces within Afghanistan, for which Pakistan's "patronage" is unacceptable.

"The U.S. has passed a decision at the highest level to conclude an agreement with the Soviets and to withdraw from Afghanistan," the ASSOCIATED PRESS quotes Afghan expert Barnett Rubin as saying. This is not a bad idea. But is it not clear that a wrong way has been chosen to get out of the Afghan labyrinth and that it may lead to endless blood-letting again?

An ordinary Afghani, who suffers most from the war, does not care at all who gets the U.S. weapons and uses them to kill his near ones. The way to peace lies through national accord, disarmament and free elections that would sort out all the political forces and decide "who is who" in Afghanistan. It is strange that Washington prefers to ignore this democratic method for settling the protracted conflict.

China

PRC Envoy Protests Contacts With Taiwan

LD0111112590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0959 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Moscow, 1 Nov [TASS]—Yuriy Kvitsinskiy, deputy USSR minister of foreign affairs, received Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request on Wednesday.

The Chinese ambassador expressed serious concern over press reports of contacts between certain Soviet organizations and representatives and Taiwan. He referred in particular to the trip to Taiwan by Gavriil Popov, chairman of the Moscow Soviet, and his meetings and conversations with Taiwanese officials.

Appropriate clarifications were given by the Soviet side. It was stressed that the position of the Soviet Union toward Taiwan remains unchanged. Taiwan is an inalienable part of Chinese territory. In its policy, the USSR is striving not to embark upon any actions which would lead to a situation of "two Chinas" and refrains from establishing official relations with Taiwan.

The Soviet side intends to adhere firmly to the accords on Taiwan affirmed in the joint Soviet-Chinese communique of 18 May 1989 on the results of the meeting in Beijing between the top leaders of the USSR and the PRC.

Belousov-Led Delegation Ends Visit to China

LD0111093790 Moscow TASS in English 0805 GMT 1 Nov 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Kashirov]

[Text] Beijing November 1 TASS—A Soviet government delegation, led by Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Igor Belousov, was on an official visit in China from October 25 to November 1.

Belousov met Chinese President Yang Shangkun, Prime Minister Le Peng, and Defense Minister Qin Jiwei.

In conversations that were held in a warm and friendly atmosphere, the sides agreed that after the summit meeting in Beijing in May 1989 and the Chinese premier's visit to the Soviet Union in April 1990 Soviet-Chinese relations have been developing successfully and with stability. It was stressed that due to mutual efforts these relations had been filled with new content, the level of understanding and trust is growing, and spheres of interaction are expanding.

In discussing international issues it was noted with satisfaction that the Soviet Union and China have a common approach to trends in the modern world and, primarily, the ongoing process of curtailed international tensions, disarmament, the transition from confrontation to cooperation, and the importance of settling crisis through political means.

During the visit Belousov held talks with Liu Huaqing, deputy chairman of the central military commission. The two men discussed economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the USSR and China, and conversion in the defense industry.

The Soviet delegation visited Shanghai, Guangzhou and a special economic zone Shenzhen.

China, Japan Dispute Over Islands Reopens

OW0111142390 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0700 GMTG 1 Nov 90

[From the "Asian Affairs" program]

[Text] Conflicts continue over a group of uninhabited islands in the East China Sea. China calls these islands Diaoyu [Diaoyutai] Islands which it holds are Chinese territory. The Japanese call the islands Senkaku and firmly believe that they belong to Japan. A correspondent of the Soviet paper IZVESTIYA has the following report from Beijing:

On Sunday evening, Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Qi Huaiyuan summoned the Japanese ambassador in Beijing and lodged an official protest over the issue of the Diaoyu Islands. These islands, the vice foreign minister said, have been Chinese territory since ancient times, and China's sovereignty over them is incontrovertible. He said: Because of the different view held by the Japanese side, however, the two countries decided, at the time of the establishment of diplomatic relations, to indefinitely put off the issue to be resolved in the future. It is regrettable that the Japanese Government has violated this agreement and taken a noninterference stance toward Japan's rightwing organization, which plans to set up navigational facilities on the Diaoyu Islands and to even send ships to the waters around the island group so as to drive away fishermen from Taiwan. China urges the Japanese Government to comply with the previous agreement and immediately stop all actions on the Diaoyu Islands and the surrounding waters. China also proposed that a consultative meeting be held to discuss cooperative development of the continental shelves and the opening of the waters around the islands as a fishing zone.

While noting the firmness of the protest, observers have pointed out that so far Beijing's reaction has been somewhat restrained. A manifestation of this is that a session of the National People's Congress Standing Committee has rejected a Hong Kong member's proposal to include the issue of the disputed islands in the agenda of the session, while pointing out that the Chinese Government understands the feelings of the Taiwan and Hong Kong compatriots. An editorial published by the pro-Beijing TA KUNG PAO in Hong Kong has hinted that China does not want to see the increasing activities in Taiwan and Hong Kong to protect the Diaoyu Islands become a movement of escalation of anti-Japan sentiments. Beijing's restraint, however, has its limits. If the conflict goes on and the Japanese do not show flexibility, China will take a more resolute action—this is the view held by observers of Hong Kong's SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST. Otherwise, the observers say, China's soft rhetoric might be interpreted as an indication that it would likewise give up its islands, atolls, and reefs in the South China Sea.

Lastly, the IZVESTIYA correspondent's report says: As for the Chinese leaders, Yang Shangkun, president of the People's Republic of China, said the following when commenting optimistically on the development of relations with Japan: The difficulty regarding the territorial issue on the road can be solved sooner or later.

Northeast Asia

Primakov, Japanese Envoy View Gulf Crisis

OW0111145690 Tokyo KYODO in English 1447 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 1 KYODO—Japanese Deputy Vice Foreign Minister Hisashi Owada and Soviet presidential envoy Yevgeniy Primakov agreed Thursday that Japan and the Soviet Union should strive for a peaceful settlement of the Gulf crisis.

Owada told reporters after the meeting with Primakov in the Kremlin that he had the impression Primakov felt there could be a breakthrough in the crisis.

Primakov told Soviet television on Wednesday in an interview after returning from his second visit to Iraq in less than a month that Iraqi President Saddam Husayn is more disposed to a political solution.

Primakov and Owada agreed that Japan and the Soviet Union can play a constructive role in establishing a new international order, Owada said.

The two countries also agreed that observance of United Nations resolutions should be the basic framework in resolving the Gulf crisis, he said.

Talks Planned on Peace Treaty With Japan

OW0111130590 Tokyo KYODO in English 1243 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Tokyo, Nov. 1 KYODO—Japan and the Soviet Union are likely to hold working-level talks on a peace treaty in Tokyo just after Emperor Akihito's enthronement rites November 12, Soviet diplomatic sources said Thursday.

The two countries agreed in September to hold the sixth session of the working-level talks in Tokyo in late November or early December.

The session will be held earlier than originally scheduled as Vice Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev, the chief Soviet negotiator, will be visiting Japan with Supreme Soviet Chairman Anatoliy Lukyanov, who will represent the Soviet Government at the enthronement, the sources said.

One Soviet diplomat said the talks will be significant because they will precede Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama's visit to the Soviet Union in December.

He said the talks will be devoted primarily to the Soviets' response to Japan's arguments in the previous session, held in August in Moscow.

Meanwhile, another Soviet diplomat reiterated Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's recent statement that the prospect of transferring the four Soviet-held islands off Hokkaido to Japan "is not in the program of preparation" for Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Tokyo next April.

"(Shevardnadze) said we are not thinking of passing these islands to Japan," the diplomat said.

But he stressed that a solution to the geographical aspect of a peace treaty "can only be made on the basis of what is acceptable to both sides."

ROK F-18 Purchase May Upset Military Balance

SK0211015190 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Igor Lebedev commentary from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] The U.S. Government is expected to supply the ROK with 120 modern F-18 fighter-bombers, according to an agreement with Seoul. Our station commentator Igor Lebedev writes on this as follows.

The White House unofficially informed the Congress last July that the United States will sell these fighter-bombers to the ROK. More specific outlines of this project are now being revealed. According to data released by DEFENSE NEWS, the military equipment company, McDonnell Douglas, will supply 120 fighters to the ROK in the near future for deployment in many locations in the ROK. Thirty-six of them will be assembled at Samsung Aerospace Industries Company plants. (?Parts will be supplied) by the U.S. military equipment companies. The remaining 72 planes will be manufactured entirely by the ROK side later. The military equipment transaction between Washington and Seoul is estimated at $3 billion.

This military transaction could frustrate the military balance between the North and the South on the Korean peninsula, for the supply of these modern weapons will immediately increase the strength of the ROK Air Force. More specifically, these fighters, which will belong to the ROK Air Force, could threaten major targets in the DPRK and the northern areas of China. Will Pyongyang just look with frustration at the military balance on the Korean peninsula? Will this not touch off a new arms race on the Korean peninsula? Will this not then frustrate the Korean people's hopes for the alleviation of political and military tensions on the Korean peninsula that they think may be possible at the premiers talks between the two countries?" These are very gloomy anticipations.

The difference of views between the DPRK and the ROK is very great. The cold war era fabricated walls of distrust between the North and the South. The walls now seem to be disappearing. Political contacts are being made step by step, and relations in economic and cultural fields are being formed. Nevertheless, what has been achieved is still very slight. Therefore, the signing of the ROK-U.S. agreement for the supply of the modern fighters could uproot the positive process that has began to bud on the Korean peninsula.

This is creating a serious crisis in the ROK as well. There is an increasing number of people who are opposed to the

stationing of U.S. troops in the ROK. This is arousing the concern of the United States. U.S. Senators assert that the United States should withdraw its 43,000 troops from the ROK in view of the positive developments in the Asian-Pacific region. There is also doubt whether there is a need for maintaining the ROK-U.S. military alliance. This military alliance only increases Seoul's military strength.

As for Washington's stance on the Korean peninsula situation, it is not easy to tell which viewpoint is dominant. It is hard to tell whether the old-fashioned concept of confrontation is dominant or the desire to take a share of what a prosperous ally has earned is dominant. However, this military contract between Washington and Seoul could invalidate the efforts to ease tension on the Korean peninsula and hamper the North-South dialogue.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Improvement, Obstacles in Thai-Vietnamese Ties

BK0111071390 Moscow International Service in Vietnamese 1000 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Aleksey Nikolayev commentary]

[Text] First of all, it should be emphasized that the talks between the Vietnamese foreign minister and his Thai counterpart and his meeting with Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan focused on broadening bilateral cooperation and joint efforts in resolving the Cambodian issue. The two also paid special attention to the promotion of economic relations. As the Thai foreign minister stated, to this end representatives of the two countries will meet in the near future to work out an agreement on the setting up of a joint commission for economic cooperation. The Thai side also proposed that Vietnam reactivate the UN-sponsored project aimed at developing the lower basin of the Mekong River, a program in which, in addition to Thailand and Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia also participated. The Vietnamese side has given its nod to the proposal, and I think that improved relations between Thailand and the three Indochinese countries will help turn this proposed joint venture into a reality. This may make a significant contribution to the process of realizing Bangkok's initiative aimed at turning Indochina from a battlefield into a market.

Of course, major obstacles still remain on the road to this objective. Here, I would like to mention the conflict in Cambodia; however, for a long time now both Hanoi and Bangkok have ceased to regard this as an impediment to the process of development of their mutually beneficial relations. On the contrary, both countries wish to work together to help bring about a comprehensive solution to the Cambodian conflict. After reiterating their support for the UN plan for Cambodia, Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach and Mr. Subin Pinkhayan voiced their opinions that at present, the main thing is for the Cambodian parties themselves to reach a conciliation in order to complete the formation of the Supreme National Council [SNC] of Cambodia. This task, once fulfilled, will make it possible to set in motion the process of implementing the UN plan for Cambodia in reality. In this connection, Thailand has stated that Bangkok is prepared to serve as the venue for a new meeting between the SNC members to solve their differences.

I would like to stress that fruitful development of Vietnam-Thailand relations has taken place parallel with the improvement of Vietnam's relations with other countries, especially the United States and China. The recent meeting between Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and the unofficial visit to Beijing of the representatives of the Vietnam's top leadership allow us to assert that in this area too, Vietnam's diplomacy has also yielded important results.

Drug Problems in Burma Seen as Far Reaching

BK3110141390 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Station observer Aleksandr Vladimirov commentary: "Combatting the 'White Death'"]

[Text] It is the opinion of scholars internationally that those in the drug trade are trying to find new markets for their wares in East European nations where democratic reforms are currently taking place. Whenever this subject matter is raised, comments usually are made about the measures taken against drug traffickers and users by the Soviet and East European law enforcement agencies in their own countries. However, scholars believe that if the very source of raw materials for drug production is not uprooted through the collective and organized efforts of international organizations, then the fight against drug abuse will become even more difficult and that new obstacles emerge in the future.

The Golden Triangle in Southeast Asia is notorious in this regard, and according to observers, the situation in Myanmar [Burma] is the worst. By some estimates, more than 1,000 tons of opium were produced in the area this year. The Myanmar Government has tried for many years to combat the threat of narcotic drugs, and the present military regime has also made long-term plans to raze poppy plantations and to fight the drug traffickers and their underground opium refineries. But, a milliard of problems that has arisen because of the prevailing political and economic situation in the country has prevented it from taking effective action in the drug control efforts. Following the ouster of the government and the assumption of power by the martial law government in 1988, the problems have worsened.

According to Western observers, the military regime today is preoccupied only with the plan to eliminate the opposition and is not too keen on the program to combat narcotic drugs. Western scholars believe that this is the

reason why poppy production has increased in Myanmar. International organizations can therefore no longer remain indifferent or be not alarmed about the situation.

The drug problem in East Europe can be said as not as serious as in, say the United States, which faces a far greater threat from drugs. According to some reports, more than half of the drugs being sold on the streets of New York originated from Myanmar. That is the reason why the U.S. Government has been so ardent in its desire to keep a watch over the drug production in Myanmar.

In March this year, the United States demanded the Myanmar military authorities to extradite opium warlord Khun Sa. Some years ago the U.S. Government actively cooperated with the Yangon [Rangoon] authorities in the drug suppression programs. But under the present situation, the U.S. authorities do not seem to want to work with the military government. This being the case, a question could be raised at this point. Will Myanmar continue to supply the "White Death" to the world for many years to come? The answer to this question will become clearer when the political situation in the country becomes better and stability starts to prevail.

There is as yet no agreement in general between the military regime and the opposition party, which won the May elections by a landslide, on the administration of the country on the basis of democracy. Such a situation will continue to indefinitely block the resumption of foreign economic aid to Myanmar which can contribute to a dynamic revival of the national economy. Without such a revival, it will be impossible to put up an effective fight against the drug threat. Radio Moscow observer Vladimir Aleksandrov says that since this is the case, national reconciliation, peace, and accord in Myanmar are not just in the interest of the Myanmar people but also in the interests of the international community that is combatting the drug threat.

Talks on U.S. Bases in Philippines Continue

HK0211033590 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Aleksandr Vladimirov commentary]

[Text] The third round of talks between Manila and Washington will take place on the 22d of this month, according to President Aquino, before she goes to Tokyo to attend Emperor Akihito's enthronement. She said her government is determined that Filipinos exert full control over Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base.

Manila is said to be well prepared for the next round of talks. Recently, a commission submitted its findings and recommendations to President Aquino on the alternative uses for the military facilities once they come under Philippine control. One recommendation is that Clark Air Base could be converted into an international airport, and Subic Naval Base could be converted into a seaport. In line with this proposal, President Aquino called on Congress to pass a law instituting a conversion plan that will affect relations between the Philippines and the United States.

During past negotiations between Manila and Washington, both sides agreed on the need to strengthen bilateral cooperation, particularly in the area of defense. However, Washington insists it has no intention of giving up its stratetic position in the Philippines. Richard Armitage, who headed a Washington delegation, declared the United States is prepared to reduce its forces in 10 years' time. But American Ambassador to Manila [title as heard] Nicholas Platt said the United States intends to (?retain control) over the military bases even after the treaty on the gradual pullout has expired.

Some analysts say American demands might be accepted by Manila if Washington guarantees that the treaty includes yearly financial assistance to the Philippines. However, this guarantee has not yet been given.

THE MANILA CHRONICLE has reported that an American senator connected with the Senate Committee on Asia and the Pacific, in an interview with Filipino reporters, said because of the financial problems faced by the United States, the Senate has no plans to raise the funds earmarked for the Philippines. The CHRONICLE states as the third round of bases negotiations take place, this new condition will be taken into consideration—a fact seen as greatly enhancing relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. The Soviet Union has implemented concrete plans reducing its military presence in the Asian-Pacific region. Such moves cannot be ignored during the coming negotiations between Manila and Washington, since it has always been averred that the military bases serve as the main neutralizing factor against the Soviet forces in the region.

Near East & South Asia

Trade With Saudi Arabia Expected To Develop

LD0211104890 Moscow TASS in English 1000 GMT 2 Nov 90

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—Officials in the Soviet Ministry for Foreign Economic relations described the Soviet governmental delegation's recent visit to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia as an important step in establishing and developing Soviet-Saudi ties.

This visit was held after the two countries reached an agreement to resume the exchange of diplomatic representatives, against the background of tension in the Gulf area.

During the talks in Riyadh, the Saudi side spoke highly of the principled stance of the Soviet Union, which calls for restoring the status quo in the region that existed before Iraq's aggression against Kuwait.

The sides emphasised that the development of political relations should be complemented by comprehensive trade and economic cooperation. Until recently, trade turnover between the USSR and Saudi Arabia was very unstable. Soviet exports to Saudi Arabia went down from 25 million roubles to 10.5 million between 1984 and 1989. Trade was done mostly through foreign mediators, with both sides sustaining losses.

The two countries reached mutual understanding on the need to form a contractual-legal basis for commercial and economic relations, enabling them to deal directly.

The talks emphasised forging collaborative efforts with the Saudi private sector, which has enough experience to participate on par with Western capital in investments in the Soviet economy. There are favourable legislative, tax and economic conditions in the Soviet Union for this purpose.

The Soviet delegation familiarised itself with Saudi Arabia's know-how in planning economic development and privatisation methods successfully applied in the country. It also visited several industrial facilities.

A delegation from the Saudi Ministry of Commerce is scheduled to visit the USSR in 1991. It should be a major milestone in boosting Soviet-Saudi economic relations.

Egyptian Envoy Shares Views on Gulf, Ties

91UF0104A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 26 Oct 90 p 5

[Report on interview with Ahmad Mahir al-Sayyid, Egyptian ambassador to the USSR, by Vladimir Mikhaylov; place and date not given: "The World Needs Justice"]

[Text] [Mikhaylov] Mr. Ambassador, permit me first of all on behalf of our newspaper's readers to thank you for finding the time for this interview at a time so complicated for most Arabs. Could you tell us about the stance assumed by Egypt with respect to the crisis in the Persian Gulf?

[al-Sayyid] Our leadership decided on its stance immediately after it became known that Iraq had invaded Kuwait, and it sharply condemned the aggression. This is our position of principle with respect to the aggressor and his victim—not only in this case but always. We decisively demand the immediate withdrawal of Iraqi troops from the territory of Kuwait and the liquidation of all the consequences of this aggression against a sovereign Arab state. I would like to emphasize that even before the initiation of these events, when the Iraqi-Kuwaiti disagreement had only just begun, Egypt was taking all the necessary steps to settle it through negotiation. The president of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Hosni Mubarak, offered his good offices as a mediator in resolving the issues that had arisen, and he visited the countries drawn into the dispute and made every effort to prevent bloodshed.

[Mikhaylov] Did this firm position change, and will it change, because of the monstrous crime by terrorists who on 12 October committed a bloody outrage in the center of Cairo in which the chairman of the Egyptian national assembly, Rif'at al-Mahjub and four of his bodyguards were killed, as well as several passersby? For in my opinion the professional killers were carrying out the order of forces outside Egypt that are dissatisfied with the principled, democratic, and independent leadership in the country.

[al-Sayyid] It is too early to talk about motives for the crime, but this I can firmly state: Terrorists cannot frighten the Egyptian people. The policy of the Arab Republic of Egypt remains unchanged; our president Hosni Mubarak has underscored this.

[Mikhaylov] What do you think of the position taken by the Soviet Union with respect to the Iraqi aggression?

[al-Sayyid] I am happy to say that our viewpoints are the same; this can be seen from the statements issued by the Soviet leadership and from what I have heard during the course of contacts with your country's official representatives. It is a clear, unambiguous position that is completely in line with present Soviet foreign policy.

I repeat that Egypt unambiguously favors a peaceful settlement to this problem in the spirit of the new political thinking proclaimed by President Mikhail Gorbachev, and he fully deserves his award of the Nobel Peace Prize.

Saddam Husayn has a choice: an honest and just peace, for which the entire world community hopes, or the path of an adventurer. He must understand that if he chooses the former path he will rid our region and the entire world of the horror of armed conflict. But if he still persists then the Iraqi leader must be aware that it will be precisely he who will be responsible for the numerous casualties and dreadful destruction, and for the suffering of all peoples, first and foremost the Iraqi people.

[Mikhaylov] The president of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Hosni Mubarak, visited the USSR in May. It was the first visit in 18 years by a leader of the country with which the Soviet Union had close ties until 1971. What can you say today about Soviet-Egyptian relations?

[al-Sayyid] Literally from the first days following his election as president, Hosni Mubarak set a course toward restoring friendly relations between our countries. Bilateral consultations were revived, our trade and economic and scientific and technical ties were restored, and contacts were activated between offical representatives.

Today we see clearly the favorable consequences of the meeting and talks between the two presidents, in policy, in economics, in trade; mutual visits by official representatives have become more frequent, and, just as

important, between businessmen. The Egyptian private sector has shown interest in cooperation, new offices of our companies are being opened in Moscow, and a major joint enterprise has started operations to produce and market furniture. It cannot be said that everything is going smoothly: the USSR is in the process of restructuring its economy, but the present stage in our cooperation cannot be described as satisfactory in all fields. However, it should in no way be thought that we have "peaked" in our relations; we still have many possibilities that the USSR and Egypt will be using in the near future.

Youth Paper Urges Noninvolvement in Gulf

PM2610110190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Oct 90 p 3

["Viewpoint" by special correspondent A. Vasilyev: "Is Kersey Footwear Needed in the Desert? What Will Happen If Soviet Soldiers Set Foot on Saudi Territory?"]

[Text] Dhahran-Moscow—Soviet specialists going home were "frisked" 23 August at Aden Airport—that is in the Yemen. They were searched, their boxes of equipment were opened, and they were even made to remove their footwear in the search of hard currency. My turn came along. A black-shirted customs officer unceremoniously examined my pockets and for some reason stepped on my sneakers—either as a sign of suspicion or because he was groping for hard currency—but he then called over his colleague and said something to him in Arabic, after which he took me into a small kiosk and locked the door.

We looked at one another in silence. The customs official could barely stand—perhaps through whisky, perhaps through drugs. Then he said in broken Russian:

"I will not strip you. I am a friend of the Soviet Union—I studied in your country. This chap is scum, a fundamentalist. He is crazy about Saddam Husayn...."

We stood there for around five minutes, then we left. My "roommate" said something to the Iraqi leader's fan, who gave me an evil stare but let me go.

This is the first time that Soviet citizens have encountered this kind of treatment from official representatives of a state which was until recently considered friendly to the Soviet Union. Yemen now supports Iraq, and so any statement from Moscow condemning Saddam Husayn meets with suspicion there. One such statement was indeed the reason for the incident at Aden Airport. Soviet specialists and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's correspondent too were conscious of the subtleties of international politics. Therefore, when my colleagues appeal for Soviet troops to be immediately sent to the Persian Gulf region, I remember not only the Soviet people left in Iraq but also the many thousands of our people living and working in other Arab countries who could also become hostages in the event of a military conflict and our country's direct involvement in it.

Iraq's aggression against Kuwait came as a surprise to everyone—both the West and the Soviet Union. The West reacted in an understandable, totally logical way: U.S. and European citizens tried to leave the country, abandoning everything; they were not allowed to go; so the governments built up their military might and threatened Saddam Husayn.

You cannot describe the behavior of the Soviet Union and our citizens in this situation as anything but "theater of the absurd." I was told that at the very outset of the conflict [illegible]hly 300 Soviet women should have flown home from Baghdad. The overwhelming majority of them refused to go when they found out that they could not take more than 20kg aboard the aircraft.

I am prepared not to believe what I was told. But how can I not believe I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who said in an interview: "...Many Soviet citizens want to carry on working in Iraq under their contracts. There are even a considerable number of cases where our citizens home on vacation insist on returning to Iraq and demand that their passage to their place of work be assured." What do you expect: Hard currency is at stake. We are hard up: What do you want us to do?

Western military specialists are wracking their brains over how to defend the international forces against Saddam Husayn's state-of-the-art weapons while their Soviet colleagues are still working in Iraq at this time and the Soviet Union—if we are to believe foreign press reports—has sold MiG-29's to Iran, and no one knows how the latter will behave in the event of a military conflict. In Helsinki M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush shook one another's hands and pledged loyalty to their ideals, but literally a few days later, according to reliable information which we have at our disposal, exercises to... repulse an American landing were being prepared in an Arab country that has taken the aggressor's side, under the direction of Soviet military advisers.

Do you know what most struck me about the U.S. servicemen deployed in the Arabian desert on the border with Kuwait? Their sense of patriotism, readiness to fulfill the command's orders, and their readiness to die in the desert, liberating a country of which, I am sure, many of them had never even heard before. They decided for themselves the question of "to be or not to be" in the event of war from the very outset when they voluntarily enlisted in the U.S. Armed Forces. It is the commanders who decide the question of whom they are to shoot.

Now imagine our warriors in the desert—those men who are now deserting in Germany or going on the "great journey" after shooting up half their platoon with Kalashnikovs. This is compounded by the "Muslim factor"—the large number of servicemen from the Central Asian republics, who may have their own view of Saddam Husayn's place in history.

I can understand Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal's suggesting that we send our soldiers to the Arabian desert. I can understand G. Bush's urging the Kremlin to take this step. But I will never understand the Soviet leadership if they really do decide to do it.

It is now clear to everyone that Soviet servicemen's morale is extremely low. Any country's army is only combat capable when its soldiers have "uniform thinking," whereby they do not doubt their commanders' orders. Because of the "Afghan syndrome" unquestioning obedience to orders is not considered a virtue in our country.

A soldier can only perform his combat tasks effectively when he knows that everything is OK at home. Americans are now sending tens of thousands of letters to Saudi Arabia, many of them addressed simply to "any soldier, airman, or marine." Collective letters are being sent from whole cities—long sheets of paper on which everyone writes something.

Now imagine the kind of letter that our soldier would receive: Your mother cannot buy bread or potatoes in Moscow, your brother has been killed in Armenia, and your wife has become a streetwalker in Odessa. And tomorrow you go into combat to liberate Kuwaiti territory from the Iraqi invaders.

The most interesting point is that Soviet units are not needed in Saudi Arabia from the military viewpoint. If war begins, the Americans will do everything themselves. The United States was originally prepared to defend its interests independently—in this case uninterrupted oil shipments from the Persian Gulf region.

U.S. retaliatory measures against Iraq can only be deemed a success on one condition—Saddam Husayn's death. Even if, say, the Iraqi leader leaves Kuwait, he will leave as the victor, having shown that he cannot be touched by blockades, boycotts, or other such measures. Iraq will still pose a threat to Arab countries and Washington's interest in this region. President Bush has obviously forgotten the saying current in the U.S. Armed Forces: "A marine never gets involved in a fight that he cannot win."

What is the Soviet Union to do? Nothing! We must bring our people out of Iraq as quickly as possible and extend the current pause as long as possible—a development considerably facilitated by our "determination" to only act in the Persian Gulf within the UN framework. It seems that the United Nations will never undertake a military operation to liberate Kuwait however many angry speeches are made by representatives of various states. The UN rostrum enables us to retain our reputation as "friends of all freedom-loving peoples" and at the same time not get involved in the adventure.

Moreover, the prevailing situation is helping to increase Soviet political influence in the Arab world at a time when U.S. influence is declining. It was not for nothing that M.S. Gorbachev said the following during a news conference in Helsinki: "I do not know whether I can let you in on a secret. I have not consulted the president, but I have a very strong desire to share it.... During our conversation today the president said: You know we proceeded for a long time on the premise that there is nothing for the Soviet Union to do in the Near East. Its role there is extremely limited. During our meeting today—and we had to cover this—we said that cooperation here, as in other areas of world politics, is very important."

Cooperation is a good thing. But it is now clear that if we blindly follow the American policy lead, we will at best be left in a secondary role, while at worst we will pay with the lives of Soviet citizens.

Intervention Sought in Israel To Ease Tension

91UF0105A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Oct 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by Major R. Mustafin under the rubric: "Commentator's Column": "Spiral of Violence"]

[Text] Recently the attention of the world community has again been riveted on events in the occupied territories of Israel. This is where shots thunder and people's blood pours. Blinded by hate which has been heated to incandescence, Jews and Arabs kill one another. Firearms and tear gas are used on one side, stones and knives on the other. Immediately after the murder in Jerusalem of three Israeli soldiers by Palestinians, Jewish demonstrations took place in many cities under the slogan "Death to the Arabs." Fanatics are committing attacks on Arabs and destroying their homes. The authorities are introducing additional forces, and appeals are going out on the radio to "refrain from retribution."

The foundation for the current round of violence was laid by the events of 8 October at the Temple Mount, where Israelis killed more than 20 Palestinians. The tragedy at the Al-Aqsa Mosque apparently exhausted the Arabs' patience and urged them to intensify the fight against the occupiers. Proof of this was the meeting of PLO representatives which took place recently in Tunis. Radically- minded delegates spoke in favor of conducting military actions against Israel to force it to leave the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip. "The issue of supporting the intifadah with armed actions has become urgent," stated G. Habash, leader of the National Front for the Liberation of Palestine. According to REUTER, the united leadership of the uprising has given the order to kill Israeli soldiers.

It seems that the intifadah is entering a new stage in its development. It is a dangerous and risky stage. By undertaking violence, the Palestinians are encouraging harsh repression from the occupiers. The Israelis understand all the complexities of their position and are specifically provoking the Arabs and trying to involve them in further bloody events and to crush the uprising. Eventually the authorities intend to demolish the Al-Aqsa Mosque and build a Jewish temple in its place; this

alone is enough to provoke the Arabs. And the Israelis are trying to make use of the present appropriate moment inasmuch as the PLO leadership, by taking the side of S. Husayn, has deprived itself of the support of many moderate Arab states.

It is impossible not to see a connection between these events and the crisis in the Persian Gulf. The Iraqi aggression serves as a serious obstacle to settling the Middle East conflict and the Palestinian problem. It has been a brake on the peace process, it has played into the hands of the Israeli leadership, and it has contributed to a hardening of the Israeli position.

To abandon the dangerous spiral of violence, immediate intervention by the world community and decisive actions by the UN are needed. The Security Council has adopted a resolution condemning the violence of the Israeli authorities against Palestinians in East Jerusalem. The unanimity of the vote in the Security Council shows that a peaceful settlement in the Middle East is attainable and may be a long-awaited reality. However, the resolution that was adopted is only a first step in the search for a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The good will of all interested parties is needed in this matter.

Unfortunately, there is still far to go. Israel refuses to receive a UN delegation to investigate events at the Temple Mount and proposes that the results of the investigation by its own commission be used. However, these results are of a unilateral nature. The Israeli commission, made up of retired generals of Israel's special services, puts the main responsibility on the chief of police of the southern sector, to which Jerusalem belongs. The report says nothing of condemning the actions of the police who opened fire.

I believe that in the existing situation the United States should take a firmer and more principled position in relation to Israel. Especially since there is already a good example. I have in mind the actions of the USSR after the beginning of the Iraqi aggression. We not only joined in the condemnation of our former ally and partner in the Middle East, but we reexamined our relations with it and a significant portion of our foreign policy. The world has the right to hope that the Americans will not limit themselves to merely approving the resolution of the Security Council, which, according to the U.S. representative to the UN, "does not affect the foundations of our relations with Israel."

Border-Crossing Regulations With Iran Eased

LD2610124890 Moscow TASS in English 1212 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Baku October 26 TASS—Residents of Soviet Azerbaijan are now able to visit relatives in Iran, following the easing of border-crossing regulations, according to a local newspaper.

In line with a memorandum signed by the Soviet and Iranian governments, the first border checkpoint has opened in Belyasuvar border village in Azerbaijan, BAKINSKY RABOCHIY reports today.

Groups of 200 people will be able to cross both ways four times a year through the checkpoint, it said.

Residents in border areas will be able to visit each other on normal passports with supplements, Azerbaijani Foreign Minister Guseinaga Sadykhov told TASS.

Even in emergencies, the number of border crossings will not be limited, he said.

A total of five such checkpoints will be set up on the Soviet and Iranian side, he said.

Everyone who crosses the border will be allowed to stay for 15 days in the other country.

Residents can cross the border by foot or in car. They will all have to comply with customs procedures in accordance with the laws effective in respective countries, he said.

The new regulations are another step towards convergence between the neighbouring countries, the minister said.

Commentary Views Steps to Stability in Iran

NC0111201190 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Station commentary]

[Text] The elections to the Council of Experts, the powerful government organization which formulates the criteria and legislates the decisions of the Judiciary and the Executive, did not bring peace of mind to Iran's social and political life. Arguments regarding the future growth of the country do not appear to be abating. Occasionally these arguments even intensify into genuine criticism of the present regime.

The fallout of the Majles controversies published in JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Tehran has attracted attention. This newspaper presents issues as serious and topical, and delineates the confines for expression of opinion. The newspaper is of the opinion that there can be no opposition to the freedom of expression. However, the form this criticism takes is the actual issue.

One must respect and uphold the values and interests of the revolution. The newspaper calls on all those who are making venomous and provocative remarks in the Majlis, in the mass media and elsewhere, and who are fanning the flames of social dissent, to review their stances.

Even the most vitriolic criticism cannot pose a danger to a regime which is capable of reconstruction, and a leadership which governs democratically. Another point is that should such regimes pursue obsolete policies which conflict with the basic interests of the nation, in such cases military actions can be substituted for verbal criticism. Such regimes cannot be saved either through reliance on religious values, or through the past revolutionary services of its deputies.

The debates raging in Iranian society and in the Majlis are generally characterized by the development into an intense confrontation with all that is anachronistic and outmoded. The policy which was advocated by the fundamentalist and conservative forces in the first decade, after the victory of the antidespotic and antimonarchical revolution, has now embroiled Iran in a severe crisis.

However, the spiritual leader, Ayatollah Khamene'i, and Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Moslemin Hashemi-Rafsanjani have proven themselves expert, pragmatic, and realistic politicians. There have been successes in the country's reconstruction, even though it is difficult to be specific in this regard. Some vestiges of prosperity prevail despite the crisis. Steps have been taken to curb inflation and to boost exports of non-oil products.

In addition, obstacles such as suspicion and mistrust, which are blocking the path between Iran and the outside world, are gradually being removed. Despite all this progress, the government should do much more to elicit the nation's support. In the economic sphere, the government is faced with the opposition of the theocrats, the privileged clerics, and the landowners. It is not an easy task to surmount this opposition and resistance. The government still needs the nation's backing in order to democratize the country.

As in the past, the opposition movements are being ruthlessly suppressed and the government does not tolerate any divergent schools of thought. Thousands of patriotic Iranians who played a significant role in the struggle to consolidate independence and the country's national sovereignty and to overthrow the Shah's dictatorship are languishing in dungeons. At present, what is important is that all efforts from above to establish the limits of criticism will be fruitless.

In general, is this really necessary? Effective measures to extricate the country from the crisis, liberalize the regime, and release the political prisoners can gradually assist in fostering internal stability.

Visiting Lebanese Communist Leader Interviewed

LD2610150790 Moscow TASS in English 1437 GMT 26 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—"The routing of General Michel 'Awn and his supporters is an important victory on the path to restore the unity and sovereignty of Lebanon, end the civil war and liberate the country from Israeli occupation," Lebanese Communist Party chief Georges Hawi said at a news conference here today.

Hawi is visiting the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

Hawi said the lawful government's priority was to convene a national conference on reconciliation and dialogue. This conference should discuss prospects of the struggle for a united Lebanon, for truly democratic reforms, which will do away with sectarian prejudices once and for all.

According to Hawi, the Lebanese lawful government bears particular responsihbility for an unqualified and full termination of the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon as the main impediment to peace in the country.

Speaking about the settlement of the Lebanese problem as a whole, Hawi noted that the Communist Party opposed linking the country's internal crisis to the regional crisis. He opposes the inclusion of this issue in the discussion on settling the Middle East crisis at an international conference.

Hawi believes that the internal crisis should be settled in accordance with the al-Ta'if agreements and specific U.N. Security Council resolutions on Lebanon. He said he did not want Israel or the United States to participate in settling the crisis.

As for Lebanon's participation in an international conference on the Middle East, Hawi said it was envisaged within the framework of the Arab-Israeli struggle as a whole rather than the problem of the Lebanese-Israeli struggle.

Commenting on the situation in the Gulf, Hawi said that the Lebanese Communist Party favoured a peaceful political settlement of the crisis, based on the non-use of force, the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Gulf.

"We do not absolve Iraq from responsibility but we believe that the main danger emanates from the U.S. presence in the region," Hawi said.

Hawi emphasised that the Lebanese Communist Party would intensify the struggle to liberate the country from the Israeli occupation and end the civil war, which will serve the interests of Lebanon's national independence, open new vistas for democratic development and help solve the country's pressing economic problems.

East Europe

Poland's Skubiszewski Interviewed on Relations

PM0211154490 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 43, 23-29 Oct 90 pp 24-25

[Interview with Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by Vladimir Kulistikov and Vladimir Galin: "A White Eagle Against a Red Background. Poland's New Foreign Minister Blazes a Trail"—date, place not given]

[Text] The Republic of Poland is no longer a people's republic, the Soviet Union is less socialist and united than it used to be. The two countries, however, remain neighbours, and their "fraternal relations" inherited from the epoch of administrative-type socialism need to be replaced by normal good-neighbourliness. Many Poles are optimistic about the prospects of such relations despite a number of tragedies which marred the history of Poland's coexistence with Russia and, later, the Soviet Union. Poland's Foreign Minister, Professor Krzysztof Skubiszewski, 64, is also an optimist. an illustrious expert of international law, Prof. Skubiszewski was elected member of the National Council of Solidarity as early as 1980. He was the first foreign statesman to visit not only the Soviet Union, but also Russia, Belorussia and the Ukraine, where he negotiated with republic authorities. A devoted reader of NEW TIMES, the minister agreed to answer questions posed by our correspondents Vladimir Kulistikov and Vladimir Galin.

[NEW TIMES] Mr Skubiszewski, is your visit to Moscow routine diplomacy, or is it connected with particular issues?

[Skubiszewski] I cannot imagine a routine visit to the Soviet Union. True, Soviet-Polish relations are not presently in a state of crisis, but there are a number of issues we cannot solve or advance by correspondence alone. This is exactly the right time to meet and talk confidentially.

Let us consider economic issues. The Soviet Union has cut off its deliveries of oil and petroleum products. The problem of debts has surfaced: There are problems connected with Soviet-Polish trade. Today Poland exports more goods to the Soviet Union than it buys. We would like to find a way to settle this imbalance.

We have inherited many problems from the time of the war. Poles deported to the Soviet Union and repressed by the Stalin regime are demanding compensation. During my visit, we discussed one concrete matter. Mass graves of Polish officers who were jailed in labor camps and then shot by the NKVD have been found near Kharkov. This is a terrible crime: you can take prisoners, but you may not shoot them. Initially, we had good cooperation with representatives of the Procurator's Office of the Ukraine. But when it came to Soviet and Polish procurators and physicians taking part in exhumation of the remains, the exhumation was mysteriously cancelled. Now, after talks, we have achieved a mutually acceptable solution.

The main goal of the negotiations, however, was to define the character of Soviet-Polish relations under the new conditions and on the new principles of respect for sovereignty, equality and ideology-free relations. You must agree that relations between peoples can be very good even if the states belong to different socio-political system.

By the way, there have been no difficulites on this score. Both President Gorbachev and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze pursue very reasonable policies in this sphere. I believe very reasonable policies in this sphere. I believe we should conclude a new Soviet-Polish treaty, one which would be in conformity with the demands of today. A treaty on good-neighbourliness and broad cooperation. All this is more than mere routine matters.

[NEW TIMES] Many Polish papers, especially those close to the country's leading political forces, are focusing on the negative episodes of the Soviet-Polish history. How consonant is this approach with the approach of the Polish government?

[Skubiszewski] This is not my government's position. But if we demand compensation for our citizens, or ask for archival documents so as to clear up the true nature of certain disputable historical events, this can hardly be called "focusing on negative episodes." We want to clear up some matters, and this can only improve relations. By the way, Minister Shevardnadze has always stressed the significance of truth and justice in intergovermental relations. This is the right approach.

[NEW TIMES] Historically and geographically, Poland is a European nation. Poland's history and geography greatly influence its politics. Will Poland change some of its policies in connection with German unification? Do people fear the "threat from the West"?

[Skubiszewski] As for the various sentiments and the mood of the Polish people, there was a serious amount of concern about German unity. Opinion polls confirmed that such fears really existed. Personally, I do not share such fears. German unity may have different consequences for Poland. Some consequences are negative, but these are of a temporary nature. We have no longer any trade or economic relations with Eastern Germany, and these relations were quite extensive. Today this is all in the past: united Germany does not need our machines or electronic appliances any more...

The former GDR is hit by an economic disaster. The East German plight is a living example of the fact that a socialist system cannot withstand a head-on collision with a free market. We used to do a lot of building in the GDR, and over 30,000 Poles were engaged in construction projects there. Today the Germans do not need our help.

But I believe longer-term prospects are better. First, we all want to live in a united Europe. European unity will not be possible without German unity. Today Poland borders on a German economic giant. We must learn to cooperate. This will give us a chance. Neither Poles or Germans want the German-Polish border to become a border between poverty and wealth, if this happens, there will be no united Europe.

[NEW TIMES] Different groups, parties and movements are starting election campaigns in Poland. Will the campaign's results influence the country's foreign policy? What do you think should be left intact in Poland's foreign policy and what should be changed?

[Skubiszewski] Hopefully, election debates will not influence our foreign policy. The current government is trying to pursue a national foreign policy, a policy which is accepted by all people, regardless of their political affiliation. I mean permanent state interests. These interests cannot change after Mazowiecki, Walesa or somebody else comes to power. At least I believe they should not. As for Poland's relations with our neighbours, our strong neighbours, the Soviet Union and Germany, I would be glad if the subject disappeared from election polemics.

[NEW TIMES] Mr Skubiszewski, we have studied the programme of your visit and saw that you are the first official guest of this country who understood that today the Soviet Union possesses other centres of power, not the Kremlin alone. How did your Kremlin partners react to your signing a separate declaration with the government of the Russian Federation which is in confrontation with the Union authorities, and to your conducting independent talks with Belorussia and the Ukraine?

[Skubiszewski] President Gorbachev and Minister Shevardnadze did not raise this question at all. I was the one to raise it. I told them Poland was going to sign separate economic accords with Union republics, not only with Poland's neighbours, Russia, the Ukraine and Belorussia, but also with Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, where we have important economic interests, in particular cotton. They respondend well.

Naturally, extensive preliminary work will have to be done: republican prerogatives still require better definition. We have agreements with the Soviet Union, and we shall honour these agreements. We do not interfere in the domestic reforms in the USSR, we are not involved in them. But these reforms are facts, and we have to reckon with them. Hence our special relations with Union republics. I think, our relations with the Union and the republics can be harmonized. Life goes on, and we cannot ignore the changes under way in the Soviet Union. Those who ignore them have much to lose.

[NEW TIMES] Perhaps this respect for facts comes from your career as a scientist: professional politicians often prefer to ignore facts...

[Skubiszewski] Perhaps...

West Europe

Gorbachev Awarded German Peace Medal

LD0111163890 Moscow TASS in English 1528 GMT 1 Nov 90

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Chudov]

[Text] Berlin November 1 TASS—The gold medal of Otto Hahn, a leading German scientist and Nobel Prize winner in chemistry, was awarded to President Mikhail Gorbachev by the U.N. German Society.

Deputy chairman of the society's Berlin branch, Ralf Freiberg, told reporters today that the medal is awarded once in two years to men of culture, scientists, journalists, politicians or economists for outstanding services in strengthening peace, disarmament, mutual understanding between nations and in the promotion of the ideals of humanism.

The U.N. German Society honours in the person of Gorbachev an outstanding champion of peace and disarmament.

Alessandro Pertini, the former Italian president and an active resistance fighter, was the first to receive the Otto Hahn medal in December 1988. The Soviet president is the second winner of this award.

FRG Commander Views Ties With Soviet Servicemen

PM3110110990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Oct 90 First Edition p 5

[Interview with Lt. Gen. Henning von Ondarza, commander of the Bundeswehr Ground Forces, by Maj. M. Zheglov; place and date not given: "'Soldiers Must Meet With One Another'"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] A little over a month has passed since the unification of the two German states. Not only NATO but also Soviet troops are now on German territory. Moreover, the former GDR National People's Army has also been incorporated in the Bundeswehr. Lieutenant General Henning von Ondarza, inspector (commander) of the Bundeswehr Ground Forces, who is in our country on an official visit, describes the processes taking place in this connection in the FRG and its Armed Forces.

[Zheglov] The strength of the Bundeswehr has now increased considerably. But by 1994 no more than 370,000 men are to be left in its ranks. How is it planned to make this reduction?

[Von Ondarza] After the unification of the two German states the strength of the Armed Forces did indeed increase. This is because the former servicemen of the GDR National People's Army were incorporated in the Bundeswehr. For instance, today there are somewhere around 50,000 to 60,000 of them in the Ground Forces. This has naturally also entailed an increase in the total number of troops under my command to approximately 370,000 to 380,000 men. At present it is hard to give

more precise figures because the process of discharge from active military service and the draft have not yet been completed. Over the next four years the Ground Forces are to be reduced by 120,000 men. I see certain problems here. They concern soldiers on compulsory service to a lesser extent. It is a different matter when it comes to career servicemen and servicemen on extended service. So it is necessary right now to elaborate concepts for their introduction into civilian life. Above all it is a matter of a program for professional retraining. The Bundeswehr has already accumulated some experience in this sphere. For instance, career servicemen and extended-service personnel have the opportunity over two or three years to acquire a new speciality, and someone who enters the Army as a baker can calmly work as a mechanic, say, by the end of his service.

[Zheglov] You spoke of a considerable reduction in Ground Forces. Does this mean that by 1994 the troops under your command will still have 12 divisions?

[Von Ondarza] Since we are speaking of such a considerable reduction, both the number of divisions and the number of brigades will decrease. And among the combat troops—I mean tank and motorized infantry brigades—the number of soldiers and officers will be 50 percent of the authorized strength. But this is a natural process, and it is taking place in complete accordance with the development of confidence-building measures.

[Zheglov] A situation has emerged whereby contingents belonging to different military-political alliances are on the territory of the same state. Is this taken into account in the orientation of the operational and combat training of the troops and staffs under your command, and how?

[Von Ondarza] Indeed, German and Soviet troops will be alongside each other for four years. This is the first time such a situation has been seen in history. And I would like to say that relations based on trust must be established between our troops. The soldiers must meet with one another. And the gates of camps must be open to mutual visits. I have already spoken earlier in Bonn and I repeated this during my meeting with the Soviet defense minister, that servicemen must build bridges of trust. This is one of their most important functions.

As for combat training, it has not changed, and all training programs will continue. Even in today's conditions the Armed Forces are a serious political factor. And that says it all.

[Zheglov] The FRG mass media voice much criticism of the Western Group of Forces. What could you say about this?

[Von Ondarza] Soviet servicemen must be aware that we live in a free democratic state and everyone, including the mass media, can criticize anybody they want. In almost 35 years' service I, too, have repeatedly had to listen to public criticism of me. But criticism must be businesslike and well founded.

[Zheglov] W. Wimmer, legislative secretary of state at the FRG Defense Ministry, visited our garrison in Perleberg. During his visit a proposal was made to hold exercises with the participation of subunits of the Western Group of Forces and Bundeswehr. What would be your comment on this proposal?

[Von Ondarza] At the moment I would make no comment on it. Because it is a question of intentions. We must first investigate everything, for it is not long since the unification of Germany.

[Zheglov] Recently FRG residents, including servicemen, have visited a number of Western Group of Forces garrisons. When will our soldiers and officers have the opportunity to visit Bundeswehr barracks?

[Von Ondarza] Four weeks ago the first 800 of our officers were sent into GDR territory to help create the "Ost" territorial command. In addition to everything else, their mission is to establish contacts with Soviet servicemen. And these contacts must not be confined merely to meetings with officers. They must also involve sergeants, soldiers, and members of servicemen's families. But it must be a two-way street. And your officers must receive appropriate instructions.

[Zheglov] What could you say about the structure of the "Ost" territorial command?

[Von Ondarza] Its headquarters will be in Potsdam. The command will include two military districts of the former National People's Army. It will consist of brigades of "heimatschutz" troops, an intelligence battalion, an engineering regiment, air defense subunits, and some others.

[Zheglov] Now for a question that will become topical both for the Bundeswehr and for our Armed Forces. An agreement on conventional forces in Europe will be signed in Paris in November. So problems over eliminating combat equipment will arise. How is the Bundeswehr planning to do this?

[Von Ondarza] We raised this question even before the final unification of the FRG and GDR. The first researches on this problem were also carried out back then. To be specific, for instance, the Bundeswehr has no need of the tanks of the former National People's Army. They will be destroyed. Judge for yourselves, in the light of the upcoming signing of the treaty on conventional forces in Europe and the establishment of ceilings on various types of weapons, it would be irrational to increase the number of tanks among our troops. Especially as our armored equipment is very good. But the situation is different with regard to artillery. We would like to keep the 122mm howitzers, because there is a large quantity of ammunition for them. During the transitional period we plan to use these systems to train our artillerymen. Only the transport version of the Mi-8 helicopter will be used, although, to be blunt, our transport helicopters are far more economical. We will also keep some models of automatic firearms, in particular

the AK-74 assault rifles. But the final decision on specific types of arms will depend on their operating cost. Industry must join in the process of destroying obsolete equipment. But the biggest problem for us is the elimination of ammunition. It will be very hard to do this in a country where so much attention is paid to the environment. We will have to look for some new methods of destruction.

Housing Program for Servicemen in Germany Viewed

PM3110111990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Oct 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by TASS correspondent V. Chistyakov for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA: "Plans to Build a Whole City; Housing for Soviet Servicemen: The View from Bonn"]

[Text] "Esteemed Mr. Federal Chancellor! We, wives of servicemen serving in the GDR, appeal to you for help...." According to the local media, these are the opening sentences of a letter sent to Chancellor H. Kohl supposedly on behalf of 400 wives of Soviet officers and NCO's. It specifically made the point that, in connection with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the former GDR which is due to begin shortly, the families of officers and NCO's returning home will be forced to take shelter in tents in the middle of winter and will have to suffer other privations. And this is why they appeal to the federal chancellor for help. True enough, it emerged a few days later that this "document," which prompted a certain response in the FRG, was yet another forgery: None of the wives in the military unit whose number was given in the letter knew anything about it and, of course, none of them had composed anything of the sort.

However, today it is hardly possible to do nothing more than expose this and pretend that, since the letter did not exist, the problem it raises does not exist either. This is of course not true. The bright festive fireworks and rousing marching music with which the day of unification was celebrated in the FRG and the GDR aroused contradictory feelings among Soviet servicemen and members of their families. On the one hand, the completion of this process was welcomed with understanding, since the creation of a single German state accords with the interests of the majority of its population. On the other hand, however, the ensuing new situation and the USSR's subsequent decision to withdraw all Soviet troops from Germany's territory also generated an understandable worry about the future among the Western Group of Forces [WGF]. After all, approximately 380,000 WGF servicemen and tens of thousands of workers and employees will leave Germany in 1991-1994. It is no secret that many of them will encounter difficulties, associated primarily with relocation, further training, and finding new jobs.

Of course, it would be untrue to claim that, in the prevailing circumstances, Soviet servicemen and members of their families will be abandoned to their own fate. The fact that this is not true is proved by the measures being taken by the Union Government, including measures concerning the WGF. Thus, in accordance with agreements signed by our countries on reimbursement of future expenditures, a special fund will be set up to which the FRG Government will contribute three billion German marks [DM] over a four-year period, with DM1.2 billion due to be appropriated already in 1991. Furthermore, a total sum of DM3 billion will be made available to the Soviet Union in the form of a two-installment interest-free loan to finance the stay of Soviet troops on Germany's territory. DM2 billion of this amount will be available already in the current year. The second installment will be made available on 1 October 1991. The repayment of both loan installments will fall due five years after the date of their utilization.

The German Government is appropriating DM1 billion to cover the transportation costs of the stage-by-stage withdrawal of Soviet troops. If necessary, the Soviet Union could also be allocated railroad cars, ships, and other facilities.

Commentaries in FRG mass media emphasized that this is the first time their country would give the USSR support in the implementation of conversion: The German side will participate directly in the vocational training and retraining of servicemen being discharged into the reserve and the members of their families. The retraining programs will be implemented primarily on the base of training centers already existing on USSR territory. A sum of DM200 million will be appropriated for this purpose. The specific content of the programs will be determined in the very near future by a mixed Soviet-German working group on the basis of an analysis of the vocational structure of WGF servicemen and the needs of the changing labor market in the USSR.

People in the FRG believe that Article Three of the agreement occupies a central position both in terms of its importance and from the viewpoint of the amount of funds to be appropriated. It provides that the German side will give the Soviet Union support in the implementation of a housing construction program for a total of four million square meters of housing area in 1991-1994. The FRG Government will appropriate a sum of DM7.8 billion to finance it, a sum which is quite sizeable even by local standards. These funds are earmarked exclusively for utilization within the framework of targeted projects for the construction of apartments for servicemen returning from Germany, as well as for setting up four housing construction combines with a capacity of 100,000 square meters of housing area each over the next two years. The agreement especially rules out any other option—in other words, not a single pfennig of the DM7.8 billion can be spent on anything but housing construction.

Local newspapers have written a lot about claims that trains with WGF soldiers and officers from Germany will be routed straight to icy Siberia or the Far East. In contrast to these claims, the agreement specifies that

apartment blocks for Soviet servicemen will be erected only in the European part of the USSR.

Provisions for various options for building apartment blocks on a "turnkey" basis, development and modernization of relevant production capacities, and deliveries of equipment, machinery, and construction materials are available within the framework of the sum to be granted by the FRG and the Soviet Union's contribution. A joint management committee at the ministerial level will be set up for the implementation of the housing construction program. I asked Michael Mueller, program coordinator at the Ministry of Economics, to describe what is already being done in the FRG for the agreement's implementation.

In his opinion, the housing construction program for Soviet servicemen is one of the largest international projects of this kind ever undertaken by the FRG. After all, the German side will be responsible for the construction of two million square meters of housing area, the equivalent of approximately 36,000 apartments. In order to comprehend the scale of the task, it is sufficient to point out that a whole city, approximately one-half the size of Bonn, will have to be built jointly with Soviet construction industry workers over a four-year period. In line with the wishes of Soviet representatives, however, this will not be a single city, which would be easier to build from the technical point of view, but 20 housing complexes in various medium and small towns in five USSR regions, M. Mueller said. These complexes will be "built into" the already existing infrastructure, which will make it possible to save considerable sums of money on the laying of roads and of electricity, gas, and water mains.

Now that the agreement has been signed and the question of appropriating the financial resources settled, we expect the Soviet side, acting as client, to supply thorough and detailed proposals specifying what projects should be built, in what numbers, where, and according to what schedule, M. Mueller went on. This is a big and complex job, but its performance cannot be put off. After all, both sides are interested in getting through the organizational stage as quickly as possible and starting work at the construction sites. We hope that this will be possible as early as next spring.

The agreement does not provide that only German firms will be building the housing in the Soviet Union, even though they would be prepared to take on the performance of all the work. But people in the FRG proceed from the premise that the appropriated funds must be utilized with utmost efficiency, in other words, that this money be used to build as many apartments as possible without, of course, any adverse effect on their quality.

According to the German side's assumptions, the procedure for placing the orders should run along the following lines. On the basis of proposals received from the Soviet Union, the Ministry of Economics will task Germany's two largest associations of building industry entrepreneurs with elaborating either basic principles or a general concept for this program's implementation. An open competition will then be announced, with all interested firms—not just from Germany but also from other countries—being able to tender on a competitive basis. The firms should submit their specific proposals, including estimated costs of works, to the client, in other words the Soviet side which, jointly with German experts, will make the final decision and conclude the relevant contracts.

Desire to take part in the competition, according to M. Mueller, has already been expressed by many large companies in the FRG, France, Belgium, Finland, Italy, Turkey, the United States, and several East European countries—Poland, Hungary, and Romania. The choice we will have to make in each case will not be easy, the ministry official said. It is also possible to set up various multinational consortiums comprising numerous major, medium, and small firms from different countries.

We are perfectly well aware of the complexity and enormity of the tasks facing us as regards the implementation of this unprecedented project, M. Mueller said at the end of our conversation. The German side intends to do everything within its power to ensure that Soviet servicemen returning home and their families are able to settle in modern and well-appointed apartments.

Moiseyev, Finnish Admiral View Security Issues

LD0211105390 Moscow TASS in English 1012 GMT 2 Nov 90

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—The model of our security now is based, and will be in the future, on new political thinking and basically differs from the previous model, the chief of the Soviet Armed Forces General Staff told TASS today.

General Mikhail Moiseyev gave an interview in connection with the completion of the visit to the Soviet Union by Admiral Jan Klenberg, commander-in-chief of Finland's defence forces.

Moiseyev said that during h s talks with Klenberg they discussed some aspects of a new model for European security. He said this model had three main features.

The first one is the "inter-connection and indivisibility of national and international components for ensuring security", he said.

"The second is a radical shift of emphasis from military priorities to political ones in using means to ensure security. And the third one is an orientation to practical politics, to the formation of an efficient mechanism for ensuring equal security to all."

Moiseyev said current changes in Europe "are putting into the foreground the use of possibilities to ensure

security by political means, against the background of the general lowering of the level of military confrontation.

"But the main tendency in current developments is the overcoming of the unnatural split of our continent. We see Europe without military blocs and confrontation.

"Such a development of events is becoming irreversible," the Soviet military chief said.

TASS Reports New Envoy to Luxembourg

LD0111185190 Moscow TASS in English 1657 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—Famed Soviet writer Chingiz Aytmatov has been appointed Soviet ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

Aytmatov, a Kirghiz, was born in 1928. He graduated from the Agricultural Institute and the higher literary courses at the Literary Institute of the USSR Writers Union. Prior to his election as president of the Kirghiz Writers Union in 1983, he worked as editor-in-chief of LITKIRGHIZSTAN JOURNAL and was chairman of the Kirghiz Cinema Workers Union. He became editor-in-chief of INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA (FOREIGN LITERATURE) journal in 1988.

Aytmatov is now a USSR people's deputy, member of Soviet parliament and of the USSR Presidential Council. He heads the commission of the Council of Nationalities for the development of culture, language, national and international traditions and the protection of the historic heritage. He is a laureate of the Lenin and state prizes of the USSR and has the diplomatic rank of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary.

Aleksandr Avdeyev, who worked as Soviet ambassador in Luxembourg until September 1990, has been moved to another post in the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

Latin America & Caribbean

Cuban Official Criticizes U.S. Economic Blockade

PM0211121190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Oct 90 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Dialogue Rather Than Confrontation Needed"]

[Text] Havana, 25 Oct—The cessation of the 30-year-long U.S. economic blockade of Cuba is an essential condition for the normalization of bilateral relations, Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, vice president of the Cuban Councils of State and Ministers, stated here Wednesday. In a "Radio Havana" interview he noted that talks should be started on the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo and on "guarantees of relations built on mutual respect" as the second condition.

Describing the U.S. policy of an "economic blockade" of the republic to be a mistake, Rodriguez pointed out that President Kennedy intended at one time to halt this policy. In the Cuban statesman's opinion, the "death of Kennedy was largely linked with his latterday stance toward Cuba."

"We can survive without the United States. We have survived despite its efforts, but we would nevertheless like to have normal relations with the United States," the vice president stressed.

"The United States is now banking on Cuba being unable to hold out in the conditions of economic disintegration in East Europe, the difficulties in the USSR, and the American blockade. When Washington comes to realize this will not work we will have a period that offers opportunities for dialogue."

Rodriguez concluded by rejecting the reports that have appeared in the United States of the arrest of Juan Almeida and Jorge Risquet, members of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee Politburo, for preparing a coup to overthrow Fidel Castro. "The American administration would like there to be conflict in the Cuban leadership, but we are now more united than ever," he stressed.

Cuban Aid to Chernobyl Victims, Ties Defended

PM3110141990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Oct 90 Second Edition p 5

[Report by V. Afanasyev followed by TASS report: "Help From Friends. Over 2,000 Children from the 'Chernobyl Zone' Convalesced in Cuba This Year"]

[Text] Children are the least to blame in any disaster or catastrophe, which makes it all the more offensive that they suffer no less, and perhaps more, than adults. The Chernobyl accident caused pain in the hearts of not just the Soviets, but other people, too. Many countries reacted to our misfortune and offered us their unselfish assistance. And this includes Cuba, where the standard of the health service is deservedly highly assessed by specialists.

Admittedly there were those who believed that, given the republic's serious economic situation, now is not the right time for the country to give away its resources. However, the decision to receive the injured was met with understanding at Havana's Juan Manuel Marquez Hospital, where 113 of the 139 children who were sent to Cuba 29 March were taken. Liliya Piltyay, the head of the Ukrainian Lenin Communist Youth League delegation who accompanied the Soviet children, who was interviewed by a PRENSA LATINA correspondent at our request, stated then that this was a noble action on the part of the Cubans, who were educated under socialism.

"Currently in Cuba there are over 600 adults and children, who have gone there in two airplanes," T.V.

Goncharova, secretary of the Ukrainian Lenin Communist Youth League Central Committee-International Voluntary Service and chairman of the Republic Soviet of the Ukrainian Pioneer Organization, told me over the telephone. "We sent them in October and they will stay there approximately until the middle of November. The medical service and the diagnostic system are of a very high standard in Cuba. The Soviet guests are in one of the best pioneer camps 40 km from Havana. Both the children and their parents have repeatedly expressed their gratitude to us. They speak particularly warmly about the Cuban medical personnel and all those who are looking after our children and creating a good atmosphere and relaxing conditions for them. We plan to send 600 children to Cuba in two airplanes once a month. But this does not depend on us but on Aeroflot, which is asking that the flights be paid for in foreign currency rubles or dollars. The Ukraine does not have aircraft of its own capable of transatlantic flights. The Cubans paid for the first two flights and the Soviet Children's Fund paid for another two (in the summer). But we do not use currency of our own. At the moment the greatest problem for us is to obtain currency, as we can pay any amount in rubles. We appealed to the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation to ask Aeroflot to accept payment in Soviet rubles, which is what Soviet citizens pay when they travel abroad. This question is now being decided. Of course flights to Cuba are an expensive luxury and not everyone is of the opinion that the children should be sent there. All the same, however, we believe that restoring the children's health should involve various forms and methods."

As we were told at the Cuban embassy, at present over 2,000 Soviet children from various regions who have suffered as a result of the Chernobyl accident have undergone treatment and convalescence in Cuba.

It is strange to read in some of our publications conjectures about Soviet-Cuban relations or unethical utterances about the Cuban leaders. Not everyone in the West has reconciled themselves with Cuba's socialist choice. But the path they take is the business of the Cubans themselves. It is unseemly for us to slander our friends. Cuba does not just represent the possibility of treating several thousand of our children free. It also represents Cuban sugar, which meets 30 percent of the Soviet Union's domestic demand. It represents the nickel-cobalt concentrate which is used to produce 20 percent of the USSR's cobalt output, and many other things. [End of Afanasyev report]

Havana, 26 Oct—Last Wednesday, the Cuban authorities deported three journalists from the Mexican "Televis" company. As became known here, in one of their latest information bulletins this company expounded the content of the article "From Fidel's Personal Life" recently published in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA by that newspaper's former own correspondent in Cuba, Aleksey Novikov. This article is described in Cuban official circles as slanderous and not corresponding to reality.

Shenin Ends Visit to Cuba, Evaluates Ties

LD0111165590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0930 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Sergey Katikov]

[Text] Havana, 1 Nov (TASS)—"The talks, meetings, and trips during the visit to Cuba allow us to conclude that the Cubans support friendship with the Soviet Union and ties between our parties," declared O.S. Shenin, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, here on Wednesday before his departure for home. He was here as head of the CPSU Central Committee's delegation on a visit to Cuba at the invitation of the leadership of this country's Communist Party.

"The Cubans are warmly disposed toward the Soviet Union, they understand our position and do not reproach us for the disruption of supplies. The people of the republic are counting on further friendship, so we simply have no right to break off such relations," O.S. Shenin stressed in an interview with the TASS correspondent. At the same time, he noted, in Cuba "everything is now being done so that these problems may have less impact on life in the country, and ways out of the situation are being sought." "It is difficult for them, but they are making specific efforts, and that is the main thing," O.S. Shenin said.

In his opinion, the Cuban leadership in particular "is quite skillfully combining moral and material incentives in the encouragement of labor activity." He said that Fidel Castro, who had a five-hour conversation with him, paid much attention to seeing that the working people's pay should be "according to final result."

Appraising relations between the CPSU and the Communist Party of Cuba as normal, O.S. Shenin expressed confidence that they would remain so in the future. He stressed the mutual exchange of experience and noted that "the leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba is beginning to change a great deal in the structure and forms of its work and the functions of the commissions of the Central Committee." "All this is is not being done hapazardly," he stressed. "Fidel Castro is profoundly analyzing the situation in the Soviet Union and, on this basis of this, is quietly and confidently drawing conclusions and adopting appropriate measures." "Our plans coincide a great deal, so I think the very serious cooperation between the parties should continue," the Soviet party figure said. According to him, the experience of the Communist Party of Cuba in involving communists in the activity of party organizations locally is worthy of attention. It is necessary, he pointed out, to apply this experience in our country because "unless propaganda work is conducted in people's localities, the party will have a difficult time in the elections."

Answering a question about relations between Cuba and the United States, he noted the need "to do everything to end the economic blockade of the republic." "An improvement of Cuban-U.S. relations must be encouraged, but at the same time we should not in any event break off our ties with Cuba; they should be improved," O.S. Shenin said in conclusion.

Supreme Soviet

Presidium Bans Counter National Day Rallies

PM0211112590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 90 Second Edition p 1

["USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Resolution on Parallel Demonstrations and Rallies in Moscow on 7 November 1990"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium today adopted a decision on parallel demonstrations and rallies in Moscow on 7 November. In view of the fact that a demonstration of working people devoted to the 73d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, organized by representatives of the public of the city, is to be held in Red Square on that day, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, guided by a decision of the Supreme Soviet of 23 October, rules as follows:

1. The holding of parallel or alternative demonstrations or rallies in the city of Moscow on 7 November 1990 should be deemed undesirable.

2. Public associations that have come out with the initiative of holding parallel or alternative demonstrations and rallies should be recommended to transfer these events to any other time that is not associated with the celebration on 7 and 8 November 1990 of the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

3. The Moscow City Soviet Presidium and Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee are to make the individuals and organizations behind the parallel demonstrations and rallies cognizant of this resolution, stressing the need for the main state celebrations to be held in an atmosphere of calm and the consolidation and cooperation of all public forces in the country.

[Signed] USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman A. Lukyanov
The Kremlin, Moscow, 1 November 1990

'Alternative' Events Ban Justified

LD0111234390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1930 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] [Announcer] The 73rd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is approaching. How will we celebrate this holiday? Listen to the interview which Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, gave to a Gosteleradio [State Committee for Radio and Television Broadcasting] correspondent.

[Begin recording] [Lukyanov] I have to point out that this decision by the Supreme Soviet was in response to numerous appeals being received by the Supreme Soviet. Many appeals are being received, it must be said. They vary of course. Thousands arrive every day. Statements concerned with the holding of the October celebrations have been received not only from all the union republics but also from such major centers as Sverdlovsk, Krasnoyarsk, Khabarovst, Minsk, Riga, and many other towns. Most of them propose that these celebrations be held in a dignified way at a high level, that they be regarded as a holiday for the entire state and for everyone in our country.

[Correspondent] Anatoliy Ivanovich, you have already said that various types of letters are being received. As far as I am aware different, alternative types of meetings, demonstrations, and processions are being planned for various cities. What is the Supreme Soviet's view of such events?

[Lukyanov] We think that these celebrations should be carried out in such a way that they unite the nation, the entire people. That is our view, especially as the Supreme Soviet has instructed the presidium of the Supreme Soviet to coordinate these events, and to prepare a festive session which will be held on 6 November in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, to prepare all the measures involved. The presidium of the Supreme Soviet has adopted a decision. The decision states that the holding of parallel or alternative measures, demonstrations, and meetings on 7 November 1990 in the city of Moscow is deemed to be inexpedient. The presidium recommended that public associations which have made arrangements to hold parallel or alternative measures of this kind should transfer such measures to any date other than 7 and 8 November. We have been motivated first and foremost by concern for the security of the citizens, the population, and public organizations, and by our concern to ensure that this holiday is not marred by any conflicts or clashes. This is because the October anniversary is not just a great date in the life of our society, our people. It is also a very important date on the international calendar, for the peoples of the entire world. So we must celebrate it in a manner befitting a people who respect their history, their heroes, and their achievements; befitting a people who are tackling the extremely great, extremely complex, and extremely difficult questions that are contained in the reinvigoration of all aspects of their lives. [end recording]

Committees, Commissions Hold Sessions 1 Nov

LD0111212390

Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1840 GMT on 1 November carries its scheduled 35-minute "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Session," reviewing the 1 November proceedings of the sittings of committees and commissions, by correspondents Minayev and Polikarpova.

According to Minayev, today the Committee for Social and Economic Development discussed plans for next year. Minayev says that national income has fallen by 2.5 percent over the first nine months of this year compared with the same period last year. He proceeds to talk about the work of the committee for Labor and Prices. He interviews deputy Zhuravelev, member of this committee. Zhuravlev says that the committee has been discussing implementation of reform and employment. He talks about the need to compensate the losses families have already suffered this year as a result of price rises.

Over 1.5 billion rubles should be allocated for compensation, with the main aim of restoring people's trust in the government. Zhuravlev says that there cannot be any more procrastination. He goes on to talk about the need to calculate repubican budgets as soon as possible so that each republic can see its budget deficit.

Minayev reminds viewers that the Supreme Soviet has already passed the bill on trade unions in its first reading. A session is shown of the Committee for Communications, Transport and Information. Today this committee discussed the question of the need to make the Supreme Soviet an intermediary between the trade unions and the government. Deputy Tsyganov is interviewed on the need to adopt a law on trade unions as soon as possible. Declaration of the all-union confederation of trade unions, and its statute should become a basis for this. The main problems to be tackled are: The importance of primary organisations and its members should be enhanced; and the right should be given to trade unions to suspend the operation of decisions that violate the law.

Correspondent Polikarpova introduces reportage from the Sovetskaya Pechat publishing organization, responsible for printing school text books, where the Committee for Education held its session today. The committee discussed the shortages of paper and text books. Polikarpova interviews Zuyev, director of the Prosvesh-cheniye publishing house. He attempts to explain why there is a shortage of school books. Polikarpova then proceeds to interview other deputies about the text book situation in autonomous and Union republics. Some textbooks are being published in Germany, it is reported.

Defense Committee Examines Conversion Bill

PM0111142790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Oct 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by Captain Second Rank V. Urban: "In USSR Supreme Soviet Committees and Commissions; Do We Need a Law on Conversion?"]

[Text] Just two years ago the very word "conversion" seemed to imply that the country would be saved from many difficulties. It was believed that you only had to "pump out" resources from the defense sectors or convert them to the manufacture of civilian goods in order to get returns straightaway. The euphoria gradually died down. Because, as world experience shows, the opposite happens with conversion—it requires large allocations.

In a word, we have achieved practically nothing, although there have been three phases of conversion since 1988. And the defense industry is meeting more and more problems in connection with the reduction of military orders. There are problems in scientific research, people are leaving.... What is to be done?

The USSR Council of Ministers believes that the problem can be resolved through the adoption of a Law on the Conversion of the Defense Industry. This is how the draft law's preamble defines its essence: "This law defines the legal, organizational, and socioeconomic foundations, principles, and features of the activity of enterprises, associations, and organizations in the defense and related sectors in the context of a halt to or reduction in military orders and the consequent conversion of their manufacturing capacities and scientific and technical potential."

On 26 October the Defense and State Security Committee examined the question of progress in the preparation of the said bill. USSR and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputies and representatives of the State Planning Committee, Union ministries, and the USSR Academy of Sciences took part in the debate.

The USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Military-Industrial Questions, which drew up the draft, received 76 findings. Of these, 16 were from Union ministries and 18 were from Union republics. Judging by the documents presented to the sitting, the observations were mainly of an editorial nature. They included proposals on the more active participation of republics in implementing conversion, and on the clear delineation of the functions of the union and the republics, and so on.

The USSR Academy of Sciences came to a far more serious conclusion—that the actual concept of the draft must be changed. And as the ensuing discussion showed, the deputies were inclined toward this exact viewpoint. What should be the nature of the concept itself?

If we were to bring all the proposals together, it would look like this: preservation of the level of advanced technology, a precise mechanism for the activity of defense enterprises in market conditions (the draft omits this altogether), compensation for the expenditure involved in their reconfiguration, and social protection for the working people. Deputies Ye.P. Velikov, V.S. Podviruk, V.I. Tatarchuk, and others spoke about this. The conclusion was that the draft still needs serious work.

In their turn, representatives of the defense sectors insisted that the law must be adopted right away. The main reasons given were as follows: It is not clear even for next year what the enterprises will be engaged in; there is no clear-cut system of ordering. In a word, we have to think about this too.... So what conclusion did the committee reach after four hours of arguing?

Summing up the discussion, L.B. Sharin, acting chairman of the committee, said that this law is indispensable, although there are no analogous laws in world practice. The point is that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has still not defined its position in these problems and has not included the draft in the work schedule of the fourth parliamentary session. Today's discussion was held on the committee's initiative, but the debate gives us every right to appeal to the Presidium to accelerate the elaboration of the law.

As for the defense industry workers' specific questions on next year's work, here, in Sharin's view, we should

think about preparing the necessary materials and submitting the relevant proposals to the USSR President and the Supreme Soviet. A draft USSR presidential decree could also be prepared. The law must be seen as a long-term measure. But the concept of this draft, Sharin went on to say, really is out of date and must be brought in line with market relations and the Union treaty that is being prepared.

The committee decided to instruct the USSR Council of Ministers to do some further work on the draft Law on the Conversion of the Defense Industry and present it for examination by the legislature before the end of this year.

Council Discusses Crimean Tatars' Resettlement

LD0111130390 Moscow TASS in English 1148 GMT 1 Nov 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Ivan Ivanov, Vladimir Isachenkov and Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—The Soviet parliament's chamber of nationalities today considered the return of Crimean Tatars to the Crimea, from where they were deported in the 1940s. Deputies examined specific measures to ensure the organised return of Tatars from far-off regions in Russia, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

Vitaliy Doguzhiyev, chairman of the state commission for the problems of Crimean Tatars, told the chamber that "the commission has elaborated a comprehensive state programme for the return of Crimean Tatars to the Crimean region of the Ukraine, which envisages political, social, economic, financial and legal measures."

For example, it is planned in 1991-96 to create social and economic conditions for resettling 330,000-360,000 Crimean Tatars, Doguzhiyev said. The process will be completed by 1998. "The mass resettlement must begin in 1991 in organised form covering both individuals and groups," he said.

As of October 1, 1990, housing has been provided to 13,000 Tatar families.

The main problem is to create new jobs in the Crimea, to build housing and to distribute land plots. To this end, some 250 million roubles must be invested. However, "today only Russia reaffirmed its desire to commit material and financial resources to the comprehensive long-term programme".

Other republics—the Ukraine, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan—"have yet to decide their share", Doguzhiyev said. He noted that the programme must have the Union-republican status because it is not a problem of the Ukraine alone.

Having stated that the summer of 1990 witnessed the continued resettlement of Crimean Tatars to the Crimea and the seizure of land, Doguzhiyev said that "this far from simplifies the situation".

"One must consider the legitimate interests of people living in the Crimea now," he emphasised.

Delegates supported the concept of the programme, but pointed to some difficulties in its implementation. It was noted that 150,000 people in Crimea are on the waiting list for housing. Representatives of the non-Tatar population said it was impossible to turn the Ukrainian-held peninsula, with a population of 2.5 million people, into a Crimean Tatar autonomous republic. Everybody agreed that the Crimea's status as a national resort should be preserved.

The chamber of nationalities decided to complete the elaboration of the state programme for the return of Crimean Tatars to the Crimea as soon as possible. It was pointed out that the mass, unorganised return of Crimean Tatars and the seizure of land only aggravates the situation, further hampering the implementation of the programme.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Holds Dialogue With Students 1 Nov

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[Address by President Mikhail Gorbachev at a meeting with students in the Kremlin on 1 November—recorded]

[Text] I welcome this dialogue, which, to my mind, began earlier and is being continued. A tradition is arising, and I particularly welcome this. Probably it is necessary for this tradition—on this occasion one can use the expression—to be formalized, that is, probably for some mechanisms to be created for such cooperation that would make it possible, on a regular basis, for us to conduct and to hold discussions, and indeed for what is arising in the student environment and what is worrying it to be communicated to us more quickly, and in the same way, if we should so wish, for us to be able to communicate straightaway, so to speak, our viewpoint or attitude on various issues to our students and the country's young men and young women studying in the higher educational establishments.

Let us then perhaps act in this way. We have here with us Comrade Tsybukh and Comrade Belyayev and the committee. There is also Gennadiy Alekseyevich, the government, and the Supreme Soviet. Think among yourselves and put forward proposals on this matter. Is it necessary to create some sort of structure under the president? Let us ponder what kind of structure it should be. Or should it be under the Supreme Soviet? Let us think about that. Or under the government? Think about it. In general, I favor the implementation of the idea that you have voiced here, because it is right [words indistinct] that it is necessary to speak, but it is also necessary to think about the structures that would make it possible to give effect to the energies and ideas of students and their initiative. This will then help them find themselves and,

what is most important, feel themselves involved in those great matters that are being tackled and, at the same time, to tackle those matters directly applying to student life.

This is a special time, and I must say that society and the state cannot lose from their field of view the student youth, because it is like all youth, but it is the section of youth which will return to society, bringing with it culture and knowledge in various fields of the national economy, without which there can today be no social progress, and so on. So, let us consider that we have agreed on this, and I ask you not to postpone it. If it is to be under the president, it will be necessary to form it by means of a decree, and we will form and create such a council, and it will be attached to the Presidential Council and under the president. That is the first point.

Second, regarding your appeal, I have as yet only quickly scanned it. In general, as Nikolay Ivanovich correctly put it, I cannot see in it any empty and dogmatic positions that are simply being presented for fun. No, everything in general arises from life, and I think that the appeal deserves to be studied. Perhaps specifically, for this work, those involved in the meeting will form an initiative group, and we will hold discussions within the framework of the government and the Supreme Soviet, because there are various issues. Some of them are legislative and apply to the Supreme Soviet. Others apply to the executive power, and yet others apply to other structures. Let us consider all these proposals on a specific basis, one issue after another, all the more so since at the present time the formation of the Plan and Budget is under way and being discussed, and it is already possible to take them into account. In addition, specific measures are being drawn up to implement the basic guidelines for the transition to the market concerning all these issues, including issues of people's social protection. In this sphere there are many issues concerning this aspect of the matter.

I would like to say a few more words. I have mentioned this before, and I am convinced that this is true: Any society can be judged from the place it allocates to women, to the family, to young and old people. If we apply these criteria to our society, we will be able to feel that we have very many great problems concerning, among other things, young people. A great deal has been done in this enormous country, and young people have devoted themselves to this country, to its development, and to taking it to a higher level.

Let us not digress into our history in an effort to assess it. Much has already been said about this, and generally we now have a better knowledge of ourselves: We know what we are and what our roots are; we know the path we have covered, what we have succeeded in doing; and we know what each generation contributed. One thing can be said with certainty: At every stage in history young people have always taken an active part in advancing and developing their country. They have been to all latitudes and longitudes to make the wealth of resource serve society. They have taken part in mastering science, and they have given their young lives while defending this country.

Regarding our history, while analyzing it and exposing its every deformity, its dramatic and tragic nature, which has entailed great losses for the whole of the people, for society and many people, including young generations of various periods, nevertheless I cannot, I simply cannot bring myself to pronounce, you know, anything that would deprive a raison d'etre to the generations that have gone through all this and given us what we have today.

I want to tell you that what we possess is not just an unsteady slippery mound, a sort of a quagmire or mishmash. What we have under our feet is firm soil. This society has an enormous base, and I think that at issue now is the stage we have currently reached, and this constitutes the essence of the present moment. Namely, there is the need to set new mechanisms in motion to utilize the potential our society possesses, and this potential, both intellectual and even scientific and technical—despite the lagging behind of our dated installations—is enormous. We have possibilities, as far as our resources, space, and manpower are concerned. This is the country and society which can... [changes thought] If you and I... [changes thought] And I am sure that having gone through the difficulties, we have now come close to the conclusions which need to be drawn. We will resolve the tasks of this most crucial stage of reform—the stage we have now reached—and this society will be able to become a dynamic and prosperous society and state.

This does not prevent me from seeing how acute the present situation is, as well as the socioeconomic and political instability smacking even of chaotic phenomena, and even disintegrative phenomena. This does not prevent me from seeing also the fact that the processes of transformation of our federation into a multinational state are taking place in a very painful fashion. They have resulted in many failures. I think that in such a society as ours, after all we lived through, and what we have turned out to have access to, quite simply at one stroke, however tremendously we might wish to... [changes thought] There is no possibility of that. That could push society into reinventing some idealistic and alluring scheme. We have seen it all before. Utopian schemes of organization of society were produced, instead of embarking on life by growing in knowledge, culture, experience, and, enriching oneself, getting within reach of new forms of life which would be in keeping with our socialist ideals of justice, democracy, better living conditions for people. That would have been the right process.

Take collectivization, for instance. Collective and state farms are a good life. But why did people have to be driven into this good life, forcibly, and why did people have to be repressed? I could go on like this. I could now, starting with industrialization, spell it out stage by stage:

People must not be driven into the good life. Prerequisites must be created, legal and economic prerequisites. People must realize and decide, take a stand, and then they will get down to it. That is when this process will go ahead quickly and will yield results. Yet, on the contrary, when it is done like that at the initial stage we do colossal damage to society. We break people. In the end we do not get what is needed because it is all... [changes thought] The words seem simple.

Socialism is the creativity of the masses. What is involved here? They have no special scientific payload, these few words, when you hear them. Everything is here, comrades. Here is the answer to all our past failures. Here is the answer, a lesson for the future: We must create these new forms of life, all taking part in democratic fashion, listening to one another, not supressing alternative proposals or political movements that do not correspond with our ideas, but working together. If we have the main realization that we want to transform this country in the interest of us all, to harmonize relations and, the most important thing, to give freedom—economic, political, and spiritual freedom—to the individual, then everything will begin to function.

Of course, this is not something outside time and space, not some pure ideal. It must all proceed, be digested and formed, and some kind of mechanisms and forms for this life must be evolved. But it is this that we have to go through, because it is not something that can be done overnight. Therefore, I want to say this to you in particular, representatives of youth. Well, I have already met many of you and have listened to your thinking at the student forum and at the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League Congress, and I am of the profound conviction that our youth is already becoming a very intellectual part of society. This is not just a matter of energy, not just a desire to re-do. This is always natural; we were all like this. Also, I have to tell you that your obedient servant has always been distinguished by this, and I think that this is natural.

Each generation makes its contribution. If this were not so, if we deprived youth and the younger generations of their right to make their contribution in real terms, then life itself would stop. While accepting what is left by the previous generation, each generation, of course, makes its contribution. I have expressed this line of thinking—which is even, as it were, somewhat vague and, perhaps, emotional—to approach the main thing. The feature of the present moment is that we are now in, and are now undergoing what is perhaps the most crucial moment in our country's history. What we turn out to be will be decided in the coming months and the coming years—the coming months because we must get through the transitional period of entering the market, this transitional period. That will take about a year-and-a-half, and a great deal must take place by next autumn.

How all this takes place, what we show ourselves to be in these months will, to a large extent, determine the appearance of our society for decades and even for centuries to come. Sometimes there arises a question of whether this inclination toward the remaining authoritarianism is not surfacing. What is this talk of another authoritiarianism? We have left a total regime, as it were. Is it not the case that, under the guise of difficulties, of the necessity of resolving economic and political stabilization tasks, we have again been drawn into, as it were, the old sort of methods?

No, comrades. If you—and I am sure that you have already demonstrated an interest—look at, study similar stages in the history of any state, when it was transferring from one state to another, then I must tell you that together with this forward-looking policy... [changes thought] And I consider that today we are pursuing the course of the profound transformations we achieved together through suffering, and we have made up our minds. This is not a reactionary policy, but a progressive one.

The aim of this policy is that its implementation should lead this society, as well as lead the economy and political institutions, to turning toward the individual. In general the central idea is man's freedom, his condition, as the point of departure. If we have agreed on this main thing, as such, and we are one on this, then I must say that to preserve this policy it is necessary to move and introduce, to go toward new forms. To restrain the situation, to ensure that it does not go out of control and does not become chaotic, and that destabilization does not reach dangerous proportions—and we are already facing this danger, in the economy, comrades, and with regard to the law, and with regard to the multinational state and everywhere—there must be no further retreat. If this goes any further, there will be the collapse of the economy, the collapse of the state, the collapse of political structures.

This cannot go any further. That is why it is necessary to have recourse to some measures—administrative, harsh political or administrative measures, but, naturally, based on the law—to ensure that the policy is not lost during the process, to ensure that we are not faced with the necessity of halting the whole process and carrying out something by way of some sort of dictatorship, you understand. It would be a vast loss. It would be simply an unforgivable zig-zag in history for a number of years, when we would lose these opportunities.

We must understand this. Anyone who wishes to make use of the elements of instability in the economy, in politics, in society in general, in order to besmirch perestroyka and try to turn back, must be watched and halted. This must not be allowed. Exactly just as now there is no need for fuss and suspicion in regard to... [changes thought] among those who have accepted perestroyka—this course is ready, and they are already participating... [changes thought] So we cannot allow a misunderstanding to arise here among those who understand the sense of these transformations.

There is now a need for consolidation. Usually it is asked: In what? It is now clear in what. The goals have been defined in all sectors, both regarding the economy, property relations, the political process, and the reforms of our multinational state. For this reason we will now do everything on this level so that all these processes progress. Ahead lie very serious measures, very serious, and we need to curb the increase in monetary incomes and restore the balance between the money in circulation and the quantity of goods available. The market should be brought into a normal state because, if instead of stabilizing the market we have shortages and panic-buying in the shops, then the money is immediately devalued. The situation cannot be saved with any kind of compensations. That is why the situation should be taken firmly under control. The measures, the complex of measures for stabilizing the economy will include many of such very large-scale measures.

They will include monetary circulation, the financing policy, the budget, and so on and so forth. It even may come to a situation when one must have in mind other measures. Should the plan of action we have adopted not produce any results and we are not able to stabilize the situation, then most... [changes thought] Maybe, and harsh measures should be applied. But the situation should be brought under control. It should be brought under control in the next several months so that positive issues can then be dealt with in a normal manner, though this is also a positive one. I mean that, so to speak, within the framework of a balanced assessment of the situation, build up and open up possibilities for new forms of economic life, as well as of political life.

This is the most important thing at the present moment: To consolidate, understand each other. In relation to this, I am, frankly, relying on our young people because this is your time, your life and, obviously, all the rest that follows is also yours. There should be no taking different paths as a result of not understanding each other. That is why the period of time we have entered contains a historical chance of the greatest dimension. But, simultaneously, it is a time of great dangers. That is why we must use this chance and protect ourselves from mistakes that cannot be rectified. They will emerge only if we fail to understand each other.

In terms of the state's policy in the realm of public education, I think that everything you have said here is fully consistent, comrades. In this case I have looked at Konstantin. He expressed the idea clearly, as well as many of you who have put forward several ideas. One of you has spoken of a principled stand on an issue, and I would like to back the person, that while resolving particulars one should not forget the main issue: That we must—and I think that the movement toward the market and the perestroyka of our economy will actually help in this—create in our society a system of powerful incentives for intellectual work. At the present moment we do not fully recognize it. I would like to tell you in relation to this that the system and these measures should very clearly be directed to help and stimulate talent.

We are spreading out the rewards too thinly. Everyone is getting the same small reward. Why should everyone get such a reward, or all engineering and technical workers get the same 15 percent bonus? Why should it be everybody? Why are people not rewarded for the work they do, for their deeds, for their achievements, for their proposals? The same applies to groups that accomplished something. That is the whole problem, you know. So, we have to tackle this problem. We must stimulate talent.

We have taken the first step—a very important step, I think—to implement a proposal made by a group of academicians. We decided to hand everything over to the academy, everything it has now. This way it can control and direct what it has. We have given it immense, autonomous rights, so that it can resolve the question of providing incentives, especially for young, up-and-coming scientific cadres. In this way it can offer a real reward—not an administrative one, but one based on interest—and create conditions that enable each individual to realize his scientific potential. This is the road we have taken. This is the road we are following. Now I have to say that as a result of what they have already managed to accomplish during these two months, literally, since the decree on the USSR Academy of Science was issued, the situation has begun to change for the better, in a serious way, and this pleases us.

We have to approach the job done by engineers in exactly the same way, by evaluating their work, the work of engineers, properly. But the work they do has to be real engineering work. If an engineer's work consists of merely pushing papers around, we cannot really regard this as engineering. If an engineer is doing nonengineering work and we still regard him as an engineer, this is nonsense. We truly have to evaluate engineering work differently from the way we have evaluated it up to now. In this respect processes are already moving. The situation has changed very greatly in industrial science. In fact, it has changed so much that there are already distorations of a different kind. Leveling, regardless of the contributions people make, is again taking place.

So, your proposals on state education policy coincide with our own understanding of the situation. Indeed, investments made in this area are the most effective that can be made. We will not accomplish anything or achieve those goals our perestroyka and our peaceful revolution have set themselves if we do not provide the proper incentives in this sphere and follow a corresponding state policy.

Right now we will do everything allowed by current opportunities, regardless of all the shortages. But, the question of 10 percent has been raised. I think we have to go for this, so to speak. This is the way things will have to go, but right now we cannot manage this. This has to be stated honestly. Tomorrow I think it will be essential.

I do not know whether you are aware... [pauses] no doubt you know that, following those... [pauses] that student

forum, we have analyzed everything and made all the decisions. The Politburo has made the political decisions. The government has made governmental decisions. Decisions have been made by a number of other organizations, committees, and so on.

I was given some information before my meeting with you. There is much movement in this direction, so to speak. At times it is not to your liking. It may not be to our liking, but the whole process is moving. Also on this theme, it is relevant that on instructions from the president, a program for the development of higher education is being elaborated. Particularly, after the meeting with the students, we had a very acute discussion with the rectors, the rectors of our country's educational establishments. That was a major discussion after the discussion with the students. And now Comrade Yagodin, together with the republican education committees, is preparing such a program. I think that it will be good for representatives of young students when this program gets somewhere—perhaps it will help right now to include them, to give them the opportunity to give thought to what is being sketched in within the framework of this program. I think that by our joint efforts we will be able proceed.

I do not know what decree. Let us clarify it. There is a law on youth policy, but the thought was expressed here—Comrade Tsybukh insistently formulated the idea of issuing a decree. If such a decree is needed then.... [changes thought] A decree is a decree. It is not a propaganda piece, not a proclamation. Although by their nature they are brief and compressed, every decree—apart from exclusively political ones, and these exist too, and are sometimes needed—must also carry a certain burden of specific content. If you have such a draft, hand it over for examination and we will examine it. Discuss it with the youngsters.

The transition to the market and the condition of the students. We now think that there should be mechanisms. It is a good thing that you have also given thought to this. Nikolay Ivanovich has in essence replied to this. The mechanisms should include indexation and a different tax policy, which would give you opportunity to act and have your own opportunities to have incomes to resolve and satisfy requirements. I think that this different tax policy is required. I think we must return once again to credits. It is necessary to look at the system of subsidies—which to keep and which not. That is, all of this must be examined. Everything must be examined. I think that if one is to speak about these questions—a group that will be created here very soon—we could, so to speak, formulate approaches to them and get to work.

I even think it is possible to charge Comrade Shcherbakov, possibly the two Shcherbakovs—I mean the one from the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, and the one from the trade union—together, to work out and work through these mechanisms and to forward them to the government. I think that somewhere we should find a means of fulfilling the wish that the construction of higher educational establishment sites should be of priority importance. If we do not acknowledge the priority development of this whole sphere it is still not possible to count on the long-term success of this society and its entry onto a qualitatively new level. How is this possible without construction and material and technical provision? In this connection, I also support the following idea. It has been mentioned—Konstantin spoke of it, some standard-setting college, or group, and so forth. Here these things are cropping up. I think that we should return to the idea we had three years ago, which was somehow buried, for all that, to single out the 20-30 major academic centers where there are strong schools and where there is the highest performance. You know, they will influence the whole of higher science, and here, perhaps, taking into account our limited potential today.... [changes thought] I know that there will be many wishing to get into these 20-30. But there are, after all, criteria by which, as it were, it is possible to select them. This does not exclude the fact that we should care for all higher educational establishments. I welcome this as well.

Representation in bodies of authority. You already have started to appear in them. This is good. Youth has emerged both in the party's new Central Committee and there is the Youth Commission. I think that at the next plenum we will introduce young communists into the Central Committee Secretariat. I think that when we have clarity in the distribution of powers between the republics and the center regarding structures, then we will resolve this matter at the same time, bringing in really fresh forces. Someone has already said—I have seen you, I welcome this—we cannot solve new tasks with old approaches, without including ever new forces. I consider one of the good things about perestroyka is that it is has already set up certain forms and legal preconditions, basically, such a medium within society for new forces to be included in all processes, both in the economy and in politics. Is it proceeding with difficulty? Yes, it is. And what about it? What is easy? Where and when has anything proceeded easily? This does not happen if you are tackling serious matters. Playing blind-man's bluff, like in your student years—you know, a hand touches you and you catch who tagged you. If you did not guess, then.... [changes thought] You can play at tag: This is a different task. Relaxation.

In order that what we decide.... [changes thought] All this demands huge universal efforts and, of course, the introduction, the mass introduction, of young creative forces to all of our society's organisms that evolve during its renewal.

On the holidays. We in the presidential... [changes thought] in the government and Supreme Soviet have discussed this problem. We are decisively in favor of preserving our traditions, which arose after the revolution, and one of these is the celebration of the anniversary of the Great October Revolution. For us it is not simply a revolution that has departed and sunk into oblivion: It is a very global event for our country and for

the whole world. It is a revolution that produced powerful impulses, and they have not been extinguished in our people, despite all the differences and all the tests that have befallen us. And now these impulses nourish, nourish people's actions and their positions.

Who—I do not know, or why, gets it into their head—we, together, need to work on this. [sentence as heard] Let you and us think. Why, suddenly, now, when we have nevertheless decided to return to the ideas and sense of the initial, so to speak, October Revolution, which put on its banners, overcoming, in the first place, the alienation of man from power, the means of production, property, and culture? This is what we, together, are deciding in practical terms at this time. Why does this not suit us now? If questions of social justice and democracy were put.... [changes thought] This has what?—lost its initial sense? No, on the contrary, on the contrary.

Yes, we are against barracks socialism. Yes, we are against total state property, against a total political regime oppressing people's freedom and excluding man, turning him into a screw, some kind of supplementary mechanism. Yes, but against—with this slogan the October Revolution was carried out. If we return to this, then this does not mean that we are betraying the cause begun by the revolution. On the contrary, we want to revive it. Some people, in my opinion, want to knock us off this course and push us onto another path, but this is choice. I think that nevertheless our society is making the choice of implementing all the transformations, within the framework of socialist choice. But socialism as understood by us is really creative, both taking into account our own experience and taking into account civilization, along with today's possibilities and the possibilities of our society. Therefore, I personally perceive the holiday both at the level of my state responsibility and at the level of simply being a citizen of this country as the most important holiday. Those who attempt to cast a shadow over this, and in this connection use, you know, banal arguments such as: Let us wash the windows and prepare for winter; and let us clear something from the farms; when it was necessary to gather in the harvest, when crops lay in the fields, there was a noise and rumpus here in the square. Now, as you know, there are calls to mark and celebrate the holiday. There is something strange and suspicious in this. Along these same lines, I have great doubts regardeing the arguments that are being put to us. There is simply a wish to divert us in another direction and to wean us from tradition.

No, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted a decision on this score. The Supreme Soviet expressed it view, and the Supreme Soviet Presidium examined the procedural side of the celebrations and said that on this day demonstrations against the state should not be allowed. An anti-Soviet and antirevolutionary festival should not be allowed. And I believe that this viewpoint expresses the interest of our people, at least the vast majority of them. The vast majority.

If someone wants to voice his views, let him do so. If someone wants to go out into the streets, let him do so. Let him demonstrate. But at another time. But to go out on the holiday for the sake of conflict—that makes us wonder once again what goals the organizers of these actions are pursuing. I think this is not in the interest of the concept of consolidation. So I want to say this to you categorically: We are for the holidays; the holidays will take place. [passage indistinct] At the start I said that as soon as the Supreme Soviet began its discussions, 20,000 messages were received within two days urging the Supreme Soviet resolutely to adopt a position and say no to all those attempting to draw us into such things. I think this is tantamount to our renouncing our own selves and our own values, which have entered our new culture and our memories. I think that our people have, in this respect, been making very fair demands on state bodies precisely with regard to those signals that have been coming very strongly from our society, and a presidential decree has been adopted on the holding of military parades in connection with the latest anniversary of the October Revolution. We had absolutely no doubt that this is the right thing to do. This is a (?sacred) tradition we must keep and follow.

I spoke with you during the interval. Apparently Winston Churchill defined the difference between a statesman and a politician as follows: A politician orients himself toward the next election, whereas a statesman orients himself toward the next generation. I agree with Winston Churchill on this. I agree with him in this instance. We, in the country's leadership, understand today's role and, in particular, the future role of our young people.

On this note, the note of mutual understanding that prevails here, I will take my leave of you. I congratulate everyone on the forthcoming holiday.

Ryzhkov, Dzasokhov Remarks Noted

LD0211123290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1837 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Report by unidentified correspondent on remarks by Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Aleksandr Dzasokhov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee at a meeting with student representatives held in the Kremlin on 1 November—from a program entitled "M.S.Gorbachev's Meeting with Student Representatives."]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the USSR president, had a meeting today with representatives of the country's students. Activists of student trade unions and other independent organizations, a group of delegates from the all-Union student forum, members of the student council attached to the Youth Organizations Committee, and students belonging to self-management bodies at higher educational establishments in various republics were invited to the Kremlin.

From the very outset of the discussions the students told the president that a vast potential charge of dissatisfaction has now built up at higher educational establishments over the low level of financial provision and the lack of social and legal protection for students. This dissatisfaction is being expressed in protests, strikes, and hunger strikes by young people. Incidentally, in the situation that has come, a number of political movements and groups have been using the students for their own narrow interests.[passage omitted]

Comrades Ryzhkov, Dzasokhov, Yagodin, and Shcherbakov; USSR People's Deputies Belyayev and Tsybukh; and Zyukin, first secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League; and the leaders of youth publications also took part in the discussion of the problems touched upon.

[Begin Ryzhkov recording] Of course, everything you say is in the final analysis a cry from the heart. We understand that these really are problems which it is essential to resolve and the only thing is that we need to speak honestly to each other. In the interval we spoke with the comrades. We need to determine our positions. Evidently we in the government need to meet and determine our positions. With regard to what can realistically be done today, let us outline an action program. With regard to what is unrealistic it is necessary to say honestly that this thing is unrealistic, this cannot be introduced in the country today.

We need to examine student economics very seriously. You cannot get by. You cannot get by on the percentage that our charitableness will... [Ryzhkov changes thought] someone will give you a hand out. We shall have meetings with you. Perhaps we shall create some more privileges so that, say, enterprises can make bigger contributions to student funds. But is necessary, in parallel, to create a student economy. Let us get together to examine what privileges are required for this. I, for example, am in agreement with going as far as possible in having some normal, admissible, privileges so that students can earn money and fortify themselves, particularly in the period of the establishment of the market economy.

I think that today's conversation—which I, personally, found very pleasing—was very constructive. We need to draw the corresponding conclusions and arrange things so that we can meet on some permanent basis to discuss these questions and, as the saying goes, to elaborate some definite positions and, the most important thing, some specific measures.

This will be especially important again when we begin to go over to the market. It is precisely at that moment, the starting point, that we must do a lot of serious work. [end recording]

[Begin Dzasokhov recording] I would like to invite you very strongly to consider that not a single representative of the very best technical, economic, or similar higher educational establishment can be a worthy and educated citizen and, even more, a representative of the most thinking section of our society without education in the humanities. We must protect the teaching of the humanities.

Much has been done by the state committee to reform the teaching of sociology. You are giving some thought to these matters. The excessive and strict ideologization, the excessive number of lectures on social sciences, including Marxism-Leninism, have now been leveled out. These questions are being resolved in the higher educational establishments, themselves, by the way. But you must still keep the study of philosophy, history, and politics as the synthesis of the educational process which is utterly necessary to you.

The second thing is that we are going to be living in a new economic environment. If all strata of society, including students, do not master all the knowledge, economic laws, and so on, then, of course, neither educational administrators nor any subjective circumstances will make it possible to resolve all questions either in the educational process or after it.

Finally, of course, I share Mikhail Sergeyevich's view that students should have their own press organ. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Ryzhkov Speaks to Youth Radio

LD0111163290

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1330 GMT on 1 November carries a 10-minute program presented by Yevgeniy Pavlov, chief editor of the Yunost radio program for young people, on the 1 November meeting between President Gorbachev and student representatives, at which Pavlov was present. Pavlov says that the meeting lasted for about four hours, with a 15-minute break, and notes that the students participating in the meeting distanced themselves from those who were threatening to go on hunger strike. Pavlov then presents a recording of an interview he conducted with Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov.

Pavlov begins the interview by asking: "Nikolay Ivanovich, Radio Yunost: In connection with the transition to a market system: The social position of students in our country is bound to get worse, and at this meeting there has been discussion about providing mechanisms to protect students, as a less protected social category in our population. Several times you said: Well, where is the money to come from? Do you perhaps have any ideas about specific mechanisms for protection?"

Ryzhkov replies: "I think that the conversation today already suggests that, to begin with, evidently, we need to create a mechanism that would to some extent compensate directly, for instance, for a student's life in an institute. We talked about a hostel, or the cost, let us say, of an apartment. That is one thing. The second thing is compensation for (?graduate students meals), that is, compensation for food. These issues have to be resolved,

of course, and I think that here we obviously need to go along the path of certain benefits of some kind. There were a lot of suggestions today. They must be examined."

He goes on to say: "The second thing is on a state level. That is, if prices go up, and they will go up, it is not a matter concerning just me, all the same, whoever works (?in my place), all the same once you go for a market, the prices will go up sometime, then stabilize, stabilization will begin, and then prices will drop. In this period, we have to have protection on a state-wide scale, and I think that we have to have compensation, compensation. If we raise the price of foodstuffs, we consider there are six to eight basic foodstuffs, and they have to be protected. I do not think that students eat more than six types of foodstuffs."

Pavlov comments: "Sadly!"

"They have to be protected," Ryzhkov says and then concludes: "In the near future we have to go over all these questions of compensation again, because there are still big arguments going on about the reform of prices, and all this is interconnected, reform of prices and correspondingly, protection. So of course, they require protection, both from the state and protection on, I would say, a local scale."

Two students then speak, saying that the students do not intend to resort to extremes such as strikes, because that is not the solution. In the studio, Pavlov says that Gorbachev spent most of the second half of the meeting answering students' questions. He said he is in agreement with a suggestion to set up a standing youth group to advise the president on youth problems, so that meetings can be held regularly.

Students on 1-Day Hunger Strike in Moscow

LD0111161190 Moscow TASS in English 1510 GMT 1 Nov 90

[By TASS correspondents Vladimir Dunayevskiy and Oleg Chumakov]

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—Some 40 students with white headbands went on a one-day hunger strike in downtown Moscow today to demand the resignation of the Soviet Government, the nationalisation of property belonging to the Komsomol and the Communist Party, depolitisation of life and an alternative to the obligatory two-year army service.

The students positioned themselves on rubber mattresses folded chairs in front of the central exhibition centre on Manege Square, just a hundred meters from the Kremlin.

The protest is sonsored by the newly-organised Moscow Student Club and a committee for the creation of the Echo Party of Youth Solidarity.

The demands put forward by the protesters are radical but declarative and, according to Moscow Student Club co-chairman Aleksey Kiryushkin are designed to draw public attention to students' hardships.

"So far our hunger strike aims to test the reaction of various public groups. Our further steps will depend on this," Kiryushkin said.

The protest has no relation whatsoever to today's meeting between President Mikhail Gorbachev and student representatives.

The strike marks the first day of the implementation of the "500 days" reform programme.

Its organisers rely on the experience of Ukrainian students who recently staged a hunger strike in Kiev, Echo coordinator Anna Karetnikova said.

Students' Hunger Strike Ends

LD0211105490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1000 GMT 2 Nov 90

[By TASS correspondents Galina Vinitskaya and Vladimir Dunayevskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Nov (TASS)—The 24-hour hunger strike by a group of Moscow students outside the Central Exhibition Hall not far from the Kremlin has just ended. They were demanding the resignation of the USSR Government, the nationalization of Komsomol and CPSU property, and depoliticization of all areas of life, and the introduction of alternative military service.

The action was organized by two recently created informal student organizations—the Moscow Students' Club and the committee for the formation of the youth solidarity party "Ekho". About 60 people took part in the hunger strike. "We are not backed by either political or extremist forces. We decided on a hunger strike independently," emphasized Andrey Miller, one of the leaders of the Moscow Students' Club. According to participants in the hunger strike, "there were" between them and the militia "no excesses".

"We achieved one of the objectives of the hunger strike—we attracted public attention to our act of protest," Aleksey Kiryushin, co-chairman of the Moscow Students' Club, stated in an interview with the TASS correspondents. In reply to our question about the students' plans for the future, he said that the students were not planning any specific measures for the immediate future. Specifically, they do not intend to take part in any action on 7 November so as "to avoid becoming a pawn in anyone's game," as Kiryushin put it.

Those taking part in the hunger strike held mixed views about yesterday's meeting between USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and student representatives. Most of them think that it "was not attended by genuine spokesmen for the interests of the student body and it is unlikely to solve the problems of young students."

Yesterday the hunger-strikers were visited by Vladimir Afanasyev, instructor [instruktor] of the CPSU Central Committee's Ideological Department; Yevgeniy Savostyanov, assistant chairman of the Moscow City Soviet; and Gennadiy Yagodin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education.

Gorbachev Meets With Dead Soldiers' Parents

PM0211114190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 90 Second Edition p 1

["Calling On the USSR President in the Kremlin"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] President Mikhail Gorbachev met in the Kremlin today a group of parents whose children were killed serving in the Soviet Armed Forces.

Mothers arrived carrying photos of their killed sons. Opening the meeting, Gorbachev suggested a minute's silence in memory of the soldiers.

"This is a hard time for all of us. Boys who were just beginning their lives have died. I share your grief and it is difficult for me to talk. Nothing can compensate for your losses. There is no justification—either in human nor in juridical laws," Gorbachev said.

Several mothers and fathers then spoke about their sons and their tragedies, made requests to the president, and put forward suggestions.

The meeting was attended by leaders of the Soviet Army Political Department, Chairman of the Council of the Union Ivan Laptev, Presidential Council members Yevgeny Primakov and Veniamin Yarin, Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Oleg Baklanov, and representatives of the Soviet Prosecutor's Office and military prosecutors.

Military reforms were designed to upgrade discipline in the army, participants agreed. The situation must be taken un hand. Every accident, especially every death of a soldier, should be carefully investigated and all culprits punished, they said.

Gorbachev set up a special presidential commission to investigate servicemen's deaths in peacetime.

He said he would soon pass a decree, taking urgent measures on issues discussed at the meeting.

He said he would issue directives to the government, defence ministry, justice ministry, and the soviet prosecutor's office.

TASS Analyst Forecasts Economic 'Chaos'

LD0211091890 Moscow TASS in English 0822 GMT 2 Nov 90

[By TASS analyst Vladimir Petrunya]

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS - Even the most radical and resolute measures envisaged to pull the Soviet Union out of the crisis onto the road of beneficial market relations will prove no more than good intentions if the unprecedented wastefulness and lack of work activity continue to proliferate.

Every day, 200,000 workstations are vacant in Soviet production this year. The country has lost nearly five billion roubles through sheer lack of discipline in 1990. Last year's losses, also due to lack of application, were one and a half times less.

Lack of discipline, like a chronic disease, has become largely pathological and hence, from my point of view, irreversible.

A vicious circle has emerged. No one calls people to task for violating rules and order. The Soviet Communist Party has renounced its administrative and managerial functions. Who is there to take them up? In the general sense, the market. However what kind of market can take shape with negligence, disorder and idleness as its starting points?

Strikes during the first six months of this year have caused losses amounting to nearly one billion roubles. Of the 200,000 people who fail to report for work daily, 60,000 are on strike. According to official statistics, 1,700 enterprises and organisations were hit by strikes between January and August.

I am absolutely sure that hopes for a normal, classical market are illusory. Only a normal, balanced and well-organised economy can advance towards a market. The Soviet economy has long since ceased to be that.

Legislators can pin their hopes on fair laws envisaging generous outlays for social needs, but what is there to hope for if mass idleness costs the country half a billion roubles each month?

Mere words, with which everyone is already fully fed-up, are unable to break the vicious circle. Yet, we cannot proceed without breaking the circle first. But is it possible to break it when some of us continue to call for consolidation, while others for civil disobedience? These 200,000 daily stay-aways are convincingly disobedient as it is, disobeying their own better sense.

I want to appeal to parliamentarians: Leave aside law-making chores for a time and ally with all parties and movements to stop the drain that swallows billions of rouble without a trace. Unless we all join forces to stabilise the boat, we shall never reach a market. We shall sooner be drowned by chaos.

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Arbatov Promotes Program for 'World Outlook'

LD0211102790 Moscow TASS in English 0834 GMT 2 Nov 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—The recently elaborated programme of a new scientific trend, "the world

civilisation process. The place and role of the USSR", may become a turning point in asserting universal human world outlook, said Academician Georgiy Arbatov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of U.S. and Canadian Studies and a people's deputy of the USSR.

The draft programme, which he helped elaborate, was submitted to the academy's Presidium for discussion on Thursday.

"In light of new political thinking it is essential for us to take a different view of many aspects of the development of our civilisation," Arbatov told TASS.

"In 1917, an unprecedented attempt was made to 'get out' of the system of the world community. This inflicted tremendous damage upon the country. Anything that did not coincide with our notions, which at times assumed the form of dogmas, was brushed aside outright, and for years mankind's development was studied in a lop-sided manner.

"The programme worked out by Soviet social scientists is primarily an attempt to overcome sectarianism and narrow-mindedness.

"Life today calls for considering the immense changes that have taken place in the world and which, as is becoming clear, no longer fit into the framework of old schemes," Arbatov said.

"Notwithstanding the conflict and contradictory phenomena, we are still brought together by common interests to a greater extent. The submitted programme maps out the soviet Union's integration into the world's civilisation in many respects: in science, economics, culture and politics. All this, for the first time since the cold war ended, makes it possible to take a novel view of the world.

"In the new scientific programme we did our best to focus on the interests of mankind and humanitarian tendencies in man's development—primarily the demilitarisation of the world and deideologisation in international relations," Arbatov pointed out.

He believes that this work will involve not only social scientists but also historians, philosophers, economists and cultural figures. The system of education in the USSR must play a decisive role in shaping the new world outlook, Arbatov said.

Medvedev Views Historical Context of Perestroyka

LD0111153190 Moscow TASS in English 1506 GMT 1 Nov 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Solodovnikov]

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—The 1917 socialist revolution is continuing through perestroyka, a prominent Soviet historian believes. Roy Medvedev, member of Soviet parliament and of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, said in an interview with TASS that the October revolution was not a historic necessity. There are alternative roads of development at every period. "Russia could have avoided the October revolution if the tsar's government had not been involved in the First World War, if the Stolypin agrarian programme had been fully implemented and if the Bolshevik Party had not been headed by Lenin," he said.

Medvedev says there existed many roads for Russia's development, and a socialist revolution was just one possible road. "It should not be forgotten that the revolution was also a way of Russia overcoming the political crisis of 1917," he said.

Medvedev believes that the perestroika is the follow up of the October revolution in some measure. "The revolution set the aim of building a democratic socialist society. But only its elements have been built.

"Proceeding from the present situation, one of the purposes of perestroyka is to implement fully the ideas of the October Revolution. It should rid the noble ideals of the October Revolution of distortions of Stalin's and Brezhnev's times, which resulted in huge losses, including unjustifiable loss of life," he said.

Comparing the leaders of the October Revolution and of perestroyka, Medvedev said that there was no direct similarity between them. "As methods of political struggle go, Lenin was a revolutionary, whereas Gorbachev is a reformer. He is implementing perestroyka by reforms. Lenin set himself the aim of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. And he had often acted as a dictator, believing that a great revolution could not be achieved without dictators. [no closing quotations mark received]

Gorbachev is fundamentally against violence. He tries to resolve problems posed by perestroika by means of talks, agreements and consensus.

With regard to the distribution of political forces in October 1917, Lenin was an extreme left-winger. Gorbachev is left of centre, which does not prevent him from regarding himself as a continuer of Lenin's cause, the historian noted.

Speaking of Trotskiy and Yeltsin, Medvedev emphasised that self- assertion, manifesting itself in populism, was the motivation in both cases.

Such figures inevitably become idols of the crowds, Medvedev said.

Study Views Public Attitudes on Lenin, Leninism

LD0111142190 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] In the Soviet Union, 64 percent of the participants in a recent sociological survey called Lenin a stoical figure evoking greater sympathies. The survey was devoted to the coming 73d anniversary of the socialist revolution in this country. About 40 percent expressed confidence in the Leninist party. Nearly one-half says the revolution gave an impetus to the nation's social and economic development, but as many feel the revolution slowed down progress and was a disaster. In the opinion of most of the polled, the abolition of private enterprise in this country was a mistake.

Trade Union Confederation Head Explains New Group

LD0111175790 Moscow TASS in English 170[illegible] MT 1 Nov 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—The 19th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions has rallied the most massive organisation of the Soviet working people on a fundamentally new, democratic basis, Vladimir Shcherbakov, 49, told TASS. At a trade union forum in the Kremlin last week he was elected chairman of the new General Confederation of Trade Unions (GCTU) of the USSR.

Shcherbakov disagreed with media assertion that the GCTU was only a whitewashed All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU)—a brainchild of the Stalin epoch, and organ of the administrative-command system.

"Denouncing the legacy of AUCCTU—democratic centralism and the administrative-command methods of management—we have proclaimed the Confederation's main principles: independence from any state structures and political and public movements, equality of all member organisations and their total independence, including financial.

"Not wishing to fulfil economic functions unsuitable for trade unions, the GCTU intends to concentrate on protecting the socio-economic rights of the working people in conditions of the transition to a market economy," Shcherbakov said.

Presenting the programme of priorities of the organisation, Shcherbakov emphasised law-making activity. He said it is necessary to ensure that the Soviet parliament immediately adopts a package of legal acts on social guarantees to the population in connection with the transition to a market. He also called for strengthening the material and technical basis of the Trade Union Centre.

Shcherbakov said that the declaration about the formation of the new Trade Union Centre was signed by trade unions of all Union republics, except for Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Georgia.

"As regards international activity, we have no intention of accepting the concept of the AUCCTU, which subdivided trade unions into socialist and capitalist, the concept of 'blocs'," Shcherbakov said.

"We should look afresh at trade union solidarity, at class and universal human interests, at relations between 'adversaries' and 'allies' of the working class. The 12th World Congress of Trade Unions to be held in Moscow in November can become a decisive step towards real renewal of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and of its rejection of excessive politisation of international relations," he said.

Yarin, Shcherbakov Diverge on Trade Unions

914F0019A Moscow TRUD in Russian 23 Oct 90 p 1

[Statements of V. Yarin, member of the Presidential Council, and V. Shcherbakov, chairman of USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems: "Let's Debate—From Different Positions"]

[Text]

V. Yarin, Member of the Presidential Council:

Complicated processes are going on now in the trade unions that reflect the restless situation in society. On the one hand, there are new objectives. But on the other hand, efforts are being made to achieve them with old methods. This is also evident in the discussions in the USSR Supreme Soviet around problems of social protection of the working person during the transition to a market. The demand of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] that the government guarantee the most important social rights of people to work and minimal life sustenance is absolutely just. However, still evident is the same, I risk calling it slavish psychology of the "outstretched hand": You have to try to get it from the state, it is rich, and it is only holding back help from its own coffers. But these coffers no longer exist! The state of the budget and the commodity reserves dictate that we have to live according to our means. But the means, it should be said, are meager.

You first have to bake the pie, and later you divide it up. Proprietors of all types will "bake" in a market. The main weight of trade union work, I think, should occur at the lower and middle level. The efforts of people to work should not be limited as frequently follows from trade union actions. I recently returned from a tourist trip—I visited Turkey and Israel.... There they work at two jobs, and they contrive to make use of every free hour. Not because they are very poor, but because everyone tries to live even better. So artificial restrictions are not needed.

Trade unions should regulate the relationships between hired workers and the employers, so that the latter pay for people's work fairly.

V. Shcherbakov, chairman of the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems:

We cannot get to a balanced market and social stability without strong trade unions. In my position I professionally study the economic policy of the AUCCTU. Although the impression can be created that our mutual relations are founded exclusively on contradictions, I can admit that it (this policy) has much that is attractive and outwardly similar to the positions of trade unions in the West. However, I will permit myself to mention that the main events of the transition to a market will turn in enterprises on all forms of property. In the near future trade unions must become a strong organization with which not only, and so much, will the state be compelled to cope, but also the strata of small and average owners that is being formed. They are the main partner, or if you wish the enemy of new trade unions.

In addition, the enticing demands of the AUCCTU—to resolve the maximum number of problems from state budget resources—are in their effect directed against the working person. If in extremely limited financial resources we increase payments, for example to fishermen, then it is possible to do this only by infringing on the rights, let us say, of reindeer breeders. That is, one social group will receive more additional benefits at the expense of another. The current position of the AUCCTU in fact means, in my opinion, a return to administrative command system methods when everything was decided from the center. This has no prospects.

I think that the future of trade unions in the mutual relations with the state is tied to an increased role of branch Central Committees or their analogues. They will defend the interests of the workers on a professional basis, and the Central Council or some other coordinating institution will balance the interests of the workers of all branches. Then we will avoid the disputes: The miners were given benefits, but the oil workers were not....

Lukyanov Meets Political Party Leaders in Moscow

LD0111202690 Moscow TASS in English 1946 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—Chairman of the Soviet parliament Anatoliy Lukyanov today met representatives of some political parties and movements seeking to unite all social forces and to promote a peaceful settlement of pressing economic, social and other problems in the Soviet Union.

The meeting was attended by representatives of the Liberal Democratic Party, the Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists, the Green Party (Green Alternative), the Russian People's Front, the Marxist Platform in the Soviet Communist Party, the Peace Party, the Memorial Society (as observer), the Islamic Revival Party, the Citizen Association, the Orthodox Monarchic Order (Pramos), the Man's Party, the All-Union Council of Jewish Organisations, the Union of Democratic Forces named after Sakharov and the Save Volga committee.

Meeting participants discussed cooperation for the sake of revitalising Soviet society.

They pointed to the need to draw more actively local councils into this work, as well as various groups operating in councils. They also stressed the need to use all forms of involving the public into law-making activities and strengthening law and order.

Participants exphasised the need to strengthen and revitalise the Union of Soviet Sovereign Republics, to overcome nationalism and chauvinism and to create conditions to ensure rights and freedoms of all Soviet citizens.

Meeting participants were informed of measures taken by the Soviet parliament to celebrate the 73rd anniversary of the October Revolution in a situation of calm, civil peace and cooperation between all patriotic forces.

The meeting was attended by deputy chairman of the Soviet parliament Council of Nationalities Boris Oleinik.

Lukyanov Calls for Cooperation

LD0111234890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Report by correspondent A. Shashkov from the "Vremya" newcast]

[Text] Today, at Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov's initiative, his meeting with representatives of a number of political parties and public movements, which gravitate towards centrist positions, took place. At their previous meetings with Boris Oleynik, deputy chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet, representatives of these varied political movements, from the Marxist Platform and the Islamic Revival Party to the Orthodox Monarchic Order and the Save Volga Committee, discussed the issue of a future union treaty. This time Comrade Lukyanov proposed the subject of their interaction with the authorities. He voiced an opinion that such cooperation is inevitable. Those present showed their readiness for cooperation when, after his opening remarks, Anatoliy Ivanovich briefed them on the Supreme Soviet's decision deeming it inexpedient to hold alternative processions and rallies in Moscow on 7 November. Later, the discussion turned into acquainting those present with the tasks and goals of the movements that were represented. Also, proposals to expand the composition of those attending such meetings and to organize them at soviets of all levels were put forward.

Democratic Movements in CPSU Plan Conference

PM0211155590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Oct 90 Second Edition p 4

[Article by A. Kryuchkov, member of the organizing committee for the All-Union Conference of Supporters

of Democratic Movements Within the CPSU: "On the All-Union Conference of Supporters of Democratic Movements Within the CPSU"]

[Excerpt] At a time when crisis phenomena are growing in society and the state, when both conservative and abolitionist [likvidatorskiy] sentiments prevail in the party, and when a wave of anticommunism is mounting, the coordinating organs for a number of movements within the CPSU—the Democratic Platform (communist reformers), Democratic Unity, the Left Center, the Marxist Platform, and the "Young Communists" group—believe that it is necessary to hold an all-Union conference, elaborate at it tactics for joint action, and examine the question of organizational ways for supporters of these movements to collaborate.

The conference will be held 17-18 November 1990 in Moscow at the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy, Block 64, Vernadskiy Avenue (South-Western subway station). Individual sessions of supporters of movements and regional sections will be held within the framework of the conference. [passage omitted]

'Unofficial' Court Tries CPSU on 'Abuse'

LD3110143590 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] In Moscow on Tuesday [30 October], the first working session of an unofficial public court started hearings in the case of the Soviet Communist Party.

Fifty-three deputies of the Moscow City Council backed the idea of a court action against the Communist Party and hoped the unofficial hearings will produce sufficient material for a well founded legal accusation. The Party has been charged with abuse of power, mass repressions, and violation of civil rights.

The organizers of the trial stress that their court's verdict will have a purely moral significance.

The hearings are to be held in several stages. The court's next session will take place in a month.

Conference Opens on Interethnic Movement

LD0211100190 Moscow TASS in English 0843 GMT 2 Nov 90

[By TASS correspondent Boris Zverev]

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—A conference focusing on the state and prospects for the international movement in the USSR opened here today.

Participants include representatives of the country's public movements advocating the territorial, political and economic integrity of the USSR and its development along the socialist path.

Representatives of international movements and fronts in Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, the Ukraine and central Asian republics arrived in Moscow to attend the conference.

Committee Issues Constitutionality Decisions

PM0111144190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Oct 90 Union Edition p 1

[A. Davydov report: "USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee's Decisions"]

[Text] A session of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee was held in Moscow 24 through 26 October.

The principal question the session examined on the initiative of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev was a provision of the Congress of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputies resolution of 20 June 1990 "On the Mechanism of People's Power in the RSFSR." According to this provision, it is prohibited to combine the post of leader of a state organ of power or management with any other post, including in political or sociopolitical organizations. During a closed sitting, which lasted almost two hours, the committee members approved the following conclusion by a majority of votes: The said norm "does not accord with the provisions of the USSR Constitution, USSR labor legislation, or the USSR's international human rights commitments and so loses its force the moment this conclusion is adopted."

At a news conference held on the results of the session B. Lazarev, deputy chairman of the committee, pointed out that the opinions of the committee members were divided: Two declared a special position. Nevertheless, B. Lazarev said, we adopted a decision that the provision's wording on the incompatibility of combining posts in the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies resolution directly infringes civil rights.

Another conclusion of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee concerns the problem of the struggle against chronic forms of drug addiction and alcoholism. The document adopted at the sitting states that with the start of the antialcohol campaign in 1985 normative acts ceased to regard the violation of public order, labor discipline, and the rules of socialist communal life as obligatory grounds for sending alcoholics to medical-labor and medical-educational preventive clinics for compulsory treatment and labor education. Avoidance of voluntary treatment by the said persons or continued drunkenness became the condition.

The committee members concluded that this procedure is not in keeping with the USSR Constitution and international human rights enactments. According to the conclusion, Article 10 of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree of 25 April 1974 "On Intensifying the Struggle Against Drug Addiction" (1987 edition), which lays down administrative and criminal liability for taking drugs without a physician's prescription, is also

deemed not to be in keeping with the USSR Constitution. Citizens convicted for such actions are to be released from penalty.

The committee concluded that the registration and accounting of citizens at their place of residence are not a deviation from USSR provisions and laws or from generally accepted international norms on human rights. However, the provisions of existing registration legislation, which oblige citizens to obtain permission from internal affairs organs or other state organs to reside in all population centers on USSR territory, are deemed invalid. The committee's conclusion states that these restrictions, apart from those that are essential for protecting state security, public order, the health or morality of the population, or the rights and freedoms of other persons, must in time be removed from normative acts.

And, finally, the Constitutional Oversight Committee defined its attitude to the laws adopted in the Baltic Republics and also in the Republic of Moldova [Moldavia] which provide for the suspension or termination of legislative provisions on providing housing for servicemen and a number of other categories of citizens on the territory of those republics. The committee's conclusion: Such normative acts do not accord with the USSR Constitution and norms of international law.

Law on Compulsory Transit Insurance Amended

PM0111143790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Oct 90 Union Edition p 5

["USSR Law 'On Changes to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree of 4 June 1982 "On Compulsory State Insurance for Passengers of Air, Railroad, Sea, Inland Water, and Motor Transport" '"]

[Text] For the purposes of improving compulsory insurance terms for passengers of air, railroad, sea, inland water, and motor transport the USSR Supreme Soviet resolves that:

Article 4 of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree of 4 June 1982 "On Compulsory State Insurance for Passengers of Air, Railroad, Sea, Inland Water, and Motor Transport" (VEDOMOSTI VERKHNOGO SOVETA SSSR No. 23, 1982, p 412) is to be set forth as follows:

"4. The sum insured under compulsory state insurance is to be set at 15,000 rubles [R].

"On being traumatized as the result of a transport accident, an insured passenger is paid a sum of insurance by the state insurance inspectorate in keeping with the severity of the trauma. In the event of the death of an insured passenger the sum insured of R15,000 is paid to his heirs.

"The rules for determining the severity of a trauma for payment of a sum of insurance are approved by the USSR Council of Ministers.

"A sum of insurance under compulsory state insurance for passengers is paid regardless of the payment of sums under state social insurance and social security, in compensation for injury, and under private insurance contracts."

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, president of the USSR
The Kremlin, Moscow, 23 October 1990

Nobel Congratulations to Gorbachev Listed

91UF0098A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Oct 90 Union Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Congratulations to M.S. Gorbachev"]

[Text] **The USSR president is receiving numerous messages from various parts of the world on the occasion of the Nobel peace prize awarded to M.S. Gorbachev.**

Congratulations were received from U.S. President G. Bush, President of India Venkataraman, Prime Minister of Spain F. Gonzalez, President of South Korea Roh Tae Woo, President of the Republic of Afghanistan Najibullah, Prime Minister of Australia Robert Hawke, President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh Hussain Mohammad Ershad, President of Bolivia Jaime Paz Zamora, President of Brazil Fernando Collor de Mello, Prime Minister of Great Britain Margaret Thatcher, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt Husni Mubarak, President of the Republic of Zambia Kenneth David Kaunda, President of Ireland J. Hillery, President of the Republic of Cameroon Paul Biya, Prime Minister of Canada Brian Mulroney, President of Colombia Cesar Trujillo Gaviria, President of Finland Mauno Koivisto, Prime Minister of Norway Jan P. Syse, Prime Minister of Luxembourg Jacques Santer, President of the Republic of Poland W. Jaruzelski, Chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers T. Mazowiecki, L. Valesa, President and Prime Minister of Hungary A. Goncz and J. Antall, President of Romania I. Iliescu, President of the Portuguese Republic Mario Soares, Head of the Vatican State John Paul II, Queen of the Netherlands Beatrix, King of Jordan Hussein, King of Spain Juan Carlos I, King of Morocco Hassan II, King of Nepal Birendra, and many others.

USSR Writers' Conference Issues Appeal

91US0048A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Oct 90 p 1

["Rome Appeal" adopted by conference of USSR writers and Russians living overseas held in Rome, date not given; followed by unattributed report and comment by executive directors of 'National Accord' Committee]

[Text] We writers and public figures living in the USSR and in the West have assembled in Rome for the conference "Nationality Issues in the USSR: Renewal of Civil War?" at a time when the existence of one of the greatest empires in the history of mankind is coming to an end and new state formations are emerging on its territory.

We explain and evaluate this process variously, but it is already irreversible. It cannot today be a question of preventing or freezing what is happening but only of the legal, democratic, and humane solution of the national, social, territorial, political, and other conflicts arising in the course of this.

We believe that the basis of a solution of the national question in the USSR, as throughout the world, is the real right to self-determination by way of referendum or the decision of a freely elected parliament. Regardless of whether this right is realized in the form of the republics' separation or the preservation by some of them of this form of state unity or the other, it presupposes in any event the cultural autonomy and civil rights of all national minorities.

On the other hand, contemporary social development creates the need and conditions for the economic integration of various countries on the basis of equality, sovereignty, and respect for mutual interests, as the example of the European Community shows. We believe it desirable that the states that emerge as a result of this process voluntarily establish economic cooperation.

None of this is feasible, in our view, without the complete and final elimination of the totalitarian system and without the freeing of the possibilities of the national and historical creativity of the peoples of the present USSR. None of this is feasible either without the renunciation of imperial, totalitarian thinking both in the country as a whole and in the republics, and of any use of violence—both physical and spiritual. This including renunciation of the incitement of national enmity, interreligious intolerance, anti-Semitism, Russophobia, hatred of "foreigners," and chauvinism of any kind.

We see here a particular role for the intelligentsia released from the power of all kinds of utopias and obliged to assume responsibility for the development of genuine dialogue between peoples and national cultures, for any national culture belongs to all mankind and could hold back the growth of aggressive nationalism. Confronting the moral nihilism which has gripped present-day society and restoring a genuine hierarchy of spiritual values will be difficult without a revival of the historical and religious consciousness and critical thinking, and this is the task of any national intelligentsia.

We are left with the sole possibility of honest, proper dialogue. Dialogue within the country and with the world. Dialogue at all levels—national, political, cultural, religious. We intellectuals must find within ourselves sufficient farsightedness and civic resolve to continue and broaden such dialogue, transferring it to the plane of practical action.

[Signed] Yevgeniy Averin, Chingiz Aytmatov, Viktor Astafyev, Aleksandr Afanasyev, Grigoriy Baklanov, Iosif Brodskiy, Vladimir Bukovskiy, Vasil Bykov, Igor Vinogradov, Natalya Gorbanevskaya, Andrey Dementyev, Sergey Zalygin, Igor Zolotusskiy, Vladimir Krupin, Dmitriy Likhachev, Eduard Lozanskiy, Vladimir Maksimov, Ernst Neizvestnyy, Leonid Plyushch, Vladimir Soloukhin, Anatoliy Strelyanyy, Vladislav Fronin, Mikhail Shemyakin, Yuliu Edlis.

Subscribing to the appeal: Sergio Rapetti, Vittorio Strada, Clara Strada, Antonio Stango.

* * *

A number of specific plans and proposals were adopted during the Rome meeting, specifically: the founding of a European University (made up of various national colleges); the organization of international business fairs; the creation of joint ventures for the production of children's foods, clothing, and medicines; and the establishment of nongovernment artistic prizes.

Fulfillment of the plans is entrusted to the organizing committee formed in the course of the meeting.

All who wish to join us may apply to the newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA (6th Floor, House 24, "Pravda" Street); the journal KONTINENT (16, Rue Lauriston, 75116 Paris, France); Independent University, 3001 Veazey Terrace, NW, Washington DC 20008, United States.

* * *

Comment of A. Afanasyev and E. Lozanskiy, executive directors of the 'National Accord' Committee

The conference organized in Rome on the initiative of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and the journal KONTINENT is over. In terms of its composition and tasks the conference was unique, and this was noted by practically everyone. Its participants, well-known writers and public figures from the USSR and Russians living overseas, professing polar-opposite views at times, were able, in our opinion, not only to avoid confrontation but also to achieve a certain accord. Accord on what is most important: However dissimilar we are, we have one thing in common—we are trying to save a country racked by every conceivable contradiction from civil war. For this reason, however each of us might explain the processes occurring in the USSR, the Rome Appeal is not confined to the present day, it is geared to the future. This document contains a call for a humane approach in the solution of most complex conflicts and problems. For the economic integration of the newly emerging state formations. For a renunciation of enmity and intolerance. For the surmounting of moral nihilism. For a revival of genuine spiritual values. Ultimately, for dialogue in the name of the future of our peoples.

The wording of this document might appear insufficiently striking to some people, possibly, and to others, not entirely consistent in an ideas sense. We will be honest: We did not meet in order to fight for fighting's sake, in accordance with hackneyed stereotypes, brandishing this "ism" or the other. It is not, strictly speaking, a question of us and our views. It is a question of the land on which we were born and of whether it will

be or will not be tomorrow—and this is far more important and significant than the difference in views. It was for this reason that the "National Accord" Committee was formed in accordance with the results of the meeting. It incorporates the participants in the conference whose signatures are beneath the final document. The committee's mission is to extend the framework of the dialogue, turning to action, from the document to the practical work essential to society, even today, immediately following the discussion.

We thank all who helped organize the meeting: the journal YUNOST, the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Center for Social and Economic Initiatives, the USSR Writers Union, the USSR Embassy in Italy, the "Washington-Paris-Moscow" Independent University (Washington), the Italy Helsinki Committee, and the "Rabochiy Mir" Cultural Center (Italy).

English-Language Business Journal Published

LD0111200990 Moscow TASS in English 1824 GMT 1 Nov 90

[by TASS special correspondent Georgiy Meizerov]

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—A new Soviet Journal aims to help Western businessmen find their feet in the bewildering world of Soviet trade. The first issue of the RUSSIAN BUSINESS REVIEW QUARTERLY came off the presses in Moscow today, with its editorial staff confident it will make a major splash in the world of commerce.

The journal's commercial director Sergey Fedyukhin told TASS today that RUSSIAN BUSINESS REVIEW differs from similar publications in the USSR in that its readers will be only professionals—Western businessmen, financiers and bankers interested in the development of business contacts in the Soviet Union.

The journal is published in English and is to be circulated in 50 countries. The Menatep Inter-Banking Association will help the journal financially.

In Fedyukhin's opinion, the RUSSIAN BUSINESS REVIEW will compete with USSR-based journals, including FACE TO FACE, BUSINESS IN THE USSR, LINK, BUSINESS CONTACT and MOSCOW BUSINESS.

Fedyukhin is sure that the journal will be a tough competitor, since its editorial office has access to the most valuable sources of business informaton in the USSR, and its staff members directly participate in drafting new bills on foreign economic activities.

Fedyukhin said that the journal is now looking for a foreign partner who is ready to share risks and profits from the publication. His duties will be to organise advertising, subscription, printing and distribution of the edition.

The collection and editorial processing of information, its translation into English, collection of advertising in the USSR and other work to prepare the journal for printing are being done by the Soviet side.

Fedyukhin believes that this distribution of duties will earn the Western partner 50-70 per cent of net profits.

Cultural Magazine Editor Describes Contents

LD0111124290

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0930 GMT on 1 November, in its "Vremya" newscast, broadcasts a 2.5-minute interview with Yu. P. Pishchulin, editor-in-chief of SOVETSKIY MUZEY, SOVIET MUSEUM, by correspondent A. Balabanov. The interview begins with Balabanov suggesting that the SOVETSKIY MUZEY magazine is little known. Pishchulin agrees but counters with the observation that "we regard our magazine as a distinctive encyclopedia of culture." After all, he continues, next year will see the continuation of a cycle of publications on treasures from the Hermitage Museum and there will be some "very interesting" memoirs.

Pishchulin goes on to note that his magazine will carry a "historical belle- lettres" column which will serialize a historical novel, and it will publish articles about the history of Russian medals. There will also be articles on the history of furniture, parquet flooring, the wallpaper.

Pishchulin concludes by saying: "This is a panorama of the coming publications that we plan for our magazine."

Magazine Editor Describes Subscription Problems

LD3110233690

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 31 October, in its "Vremya" newscast, carries a two-minute report, under the heading "1991 Newspapers and Magazines" in which Yu. Belyanchikova, editor in chief of the magazine ZDOROVYE, HEALTH, says that although health is indeed important for all some difficulties have been occurring with subscriptions. Some subscriptions have been refused locally in view of a limit. She says that the limit on the magazine has now been removed, and subscriptions can be obtained. The magazine now costs 60 kopecks.

The magazine will strive to give as much practical advice as it can in connection with the present widespread shortages of medicines, foodstuffs, and other goods. Foreign specialists will also be involved in the work of the magazine.

This year the magazine, like many other publications, has come out very irregularly, but Belyanchikova assures subscribers that the magazine will come out strictly to time and regularly in the new year.

Latest IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS Contents Described

PM3110102790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Published"]

[Text] The 10th issue of the journal IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS has been published and is being distributed to subscribers.

O.S. Shenin, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, writes under the rubric "What the CPSU Central Committee Is Working On," which opens the issue. Here too are carried a number of resolutions adopted by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat during August-September 1990.

The journal has begun publishing brief biographies of members of the CPSU Central Committee elected by the 28th party congress.

What is the party's financial and economic activity like under the new conditions? How should the changes in Central and East Europe be evaluated? What are the causes of interethnic conflicts? What is known of the activities of the armed nationalist underground in Lithuania during the postwar years? What do representatives of the Democratic Platform want? Such is the range of readers' questions, which the journal answers.

Documents of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission to make an additional study of materials connected with the repression that occurred during the thirties, forties, and early fifties are devoted to the affair of the so-called "Sultangaliyev counterrevolutionary organization."

The CPSU Central Committee's mail is represented by Communists' letters on problems of the party and society.

The archive section contains an account of the work of the Ninth Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress, materials of internal party debates in the twenties, the continuation of the platform of the "Union of Marxist-Leninists" (the "Ryutin Group"), and Great Patriotic War documents for the first half of September 1941.

Central TV To Charge for Program Listings

PM2910171390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Oct 90 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "They Are Astonished in America!"]

[Excerpt] At the whim of the Central Television General Directorate for Programs, millions of Soviet readers—not only of PRAVDA but of all other papers—may soon be left without any information about Central Television programs.

V.P. Leontyev, director of the PRAVDA Publishing House, received the following letter.

"We inform you that, in view of the transition of the General Directorate for Programs to self-financing, we will be unable henceforth to supply information about Central Television programs without appropriate payment. Up to now we have not been bound by any commitments.

"We ask you to examine the question of the need to publish television programs before 15 November 1990 and to inform us of your decision, since the Central Television General Directorate for Programs will not supply information from 1 December 1990.

"In the event of a decision in the affirmative on this question, it will be necessary to hold talks and conclude a contract.

"We hope that such a contract will be signed on mutually advantageous terms,

"Respectfully,

"[Signed] V. Bogdanov." [passage omitted]

Ligachev Views Post-Retirement Political Life

91UN0171C Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 43, Oct 90 p 2

[Report on interview with Ye.K. Ligachev, USSR people's deputy, by A. Uglanov, correspondent; place and date not given: "As Always, There Is Not Enough Time"]

[Text] **Our correspondent A. Uglanov asked USSR People's Deputy Ye.K. Ligachev to answer a couple of questions.**

[Uglanov] Yegor Kuzmich, recently you left work in the CPSU Central Committee Politburo for a well-deserved rest. Do you still have your personal guard? In general, how is your life?

[Ligachev] I have no guard. I drive a car and I also use city transportation—the subway and the bus. I live in a Moscow apartment. I have no state dacha or any other kind of dacha and I do not even have a garden plot.

I live like anyone else. I feel good. I work a lot and never have enough time. I would be very happy if two or three hours could be added to the day.

[Uglanov] Do you have any duties as a USSR people's deputy?

[Ligachev] I actively attend the meetings of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and I work with letters from the voters. I am thinking about entering the deputy group Soyuz—in any case my comrades have invited me repeatedly—and beginning to work there.

Moreover, I am a member of the Peasant Union Council. I recently participated in the work of its plenum and spoke. I follow the official documents and the press.

[Uglanov] That is, you are not leading the life of a retiree, but it is just as busy.

[Ligachev] When a person does not have enough time—especially in the position that I am in—this is good. Some comrades have a difficult time during such periods in their lives because sometimes it is difficult to find somewhere to apply their energies.

[Uglanov] How do you feel about the frequent demands for the retirement of N. Ryzhkov's Union government?

[Ligachev] I do not support them. It is not a matter of Ryzhkov, Sidorov, or Petrov. I am deeply convinced that now that the Basic Guidelines for economic development have been adopted—and this document, from my viewpoint, is quite suitable, realistic, and will enable the republics and the center to work in keeping with their capabilities and specific tasks—to change the government at this time would mean a loss of time.

[Uglanov] As a Russian, how do you feel about Russian sovereignty? About the fact that the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] has become more independent?

[Ligachev] I am in favor of the dialectical unity of the sovereignty of the republic and of the Union of republics. One must not lean in either direction. It would be a great shame if we were to place sovereignty in the foreground while forgetting about the integrity of the state and vice versa. That is a matter of principle.

We must be circumspect and cautious here. I wish to say quite seriously that if we do not unite the national and the international it will be a great disaster. And, if you will, the main obstacle to working in the basic directions we have adopted is the question of the integrity of the state.

[Uglanov] But some people consider you a Russian nationalist....

[Ligachev] It seems to me that we Russians—and I am a Russian person—need to emphasize internationalism most of all. Such is our fate. This does not mean that we must sacrifice anything, as happened in the past without sufficient justification. I am convinced that the other peoples will evaluate the role of the Russian people correctly. But the most dangerous thing in a society—and I feel that this danger is increasing—is nationalism and chauvinism in all of their forms. Including in Russia. We Russians must be internationalists above all.

Economic

Petrakov Interviewed on Economic Reform Plan

PM3010165490 Madrid ABC in Spanish 26 Oct 90 p 74

[Interview with Gorbachev's economic adviser Nikolay Petrakov by Cristina Lopez-Schlichting in Madrid during the visit of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to Spain 26-28 October]

[Text] Madrid—"Gorbachev will sign a decree derestricting foreign investments in the USSR and authorizing the establishment of enterprises funded by 100 percent foreign capital," said the economic adviser to the president during his visit to Spain. Petrakov described the difficulties of the new Soviet plan for the transition to the free market, announced another cut in aid to Cuba, and announced the end of economic Stalinism, "though I would not talk in terms of the failure of Marxism."

[Lopez] You were involved in formulating the plan for the transition to the market economy finally approved by the Supreme Soviet last Friday. Is it true that it is ambiguous, being the result of a compromise?

[Petrakov] Yes. We sought common ground between the moderates and radicals, and doubtless problems will arise when it comes to implementing it. But in living politics you cannot forecast absolutely everything, and the main thing is to have eliminated the ideological barriers and to move toward the market economy.

[Lopez] Is it not true that this vagueness could lead to chaos when it comes to broaching specific measures, by causing a confrontation between one group and another?

[Petrakov] These are emotional exaggerations that exist in our country, too. Yeltsin and certain other members of the government have made alarmist statements about the failure constituted by the nonimplementation of the "500-day plan"—desired by them and to which I, too, contributed—but we must not exaggerate. Rather than the theoretical models of the various plans—which could be reduced to mere pieces of paper if there is not the political will to implement them—the important thing is the subsequent work, the professionalism, and the efficiency now displayed by economists in the changes.

Energy

[Lopez] The framework for this reform is not exactly ideal: This winter the USSR will face famine following the disastrous harvests....

[Primakov] We are worried above all by the threat of industrial and mining strikes. We realize that we must satisfy the workers' economic demands, but we know that we are thus boosting inflation at the same time. The skill will lie in implementing the economic and social policy while averting both threats—strikes and inflation.

Agrarian Reform

[Lopez] Will land privatization be made the subject of a referendum?

[Primakov] This issue has been broached incorrectly in the western press. As Gorbachev has said, the matter requires a referendum, but it would take too long to organize one, and land needs to be in the farmers' hands for the next agricultural year, which starts now. Therefore the president has proposed that land be leased while the referendum is being organized. Anyone can cultivate

a plot of land and bequeath it: The only thing he cannot do is sell it. In this way we will also dispel the temporary fear being shown by people of the possible speculation that free buying and selling would bring about since the capital of those who grew rich in the black economy would be invested in this sector. Furthermore, we want there to be an opportunity for those who so wish it to remain in the collective farms, independently of Stalinist extremes.

[Lopez] Will the USSR join the international economic bodies?

[Primakov] We have already obtained observer status within GATT and we are currently negotiating accession to the IMF. Of course we want to join all the financial bodies and we will become part of the world economic system. We particularly want to attract foreign capital. Following this visit Gorbachev will approve a decree derestricting investments, after which it will be possible to found enterprises in the USSR funded by 100 percent foreign capital. Hence the fact that the priorities are a convertible ruble, the creation of a powerful export sector, and receptivity to foreign technologies.

End of CEMA

[Lopez] The traditional market has collapsed with the changes in the East. What alternatives do you envisage?

[Primakov] CEMA was a market for second-rate goods: What the countries of the East could not sell to the West they sold to the USSR, and we accepted it all as a payment for political loyalty, though we thus wasted the currency earned from our oil sales, for instance. This has changed: The East is no longer our political satellite and it is they who probably have greater problems, because we can no longer spend our money on supporting them by importing their trucks when we can buy better ones from Spain or Portugal.

Advantages of Marxism

[Lopez] What kind of economic policy does the new budget envisage toward Cuba?

[Primakov] The budget has not yet been approved, but I believe that our aid will be reduced even further. Not out of any inimical attitude, but because of our economic crisis.

[Lopez] So has the Marxist economic model failed?

[Primakov] I would not put it so categorically. The Stalinist version of socialism has failed: What we were building did not much resemble what Marx described. At one time, Marxism embodied huge values; it was an interesting and profound theory. Now, leaving aside the arguments that have not survived the test of time, many capitalist nations are successfully implementing socialist principles such as the defense of the poor or social guarantees. We like to cite the example of the Scandinavian countries.

Official Details New Ruble Exchange Rates

AU3110131390 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 31 Oct 90 p 14

[Article by Ivan Ivanov, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations of the USSR Council of Ministers: "The New Exchange Rate of the Ruble Is To Reduce Subsidies to Companies"]

[Text] Moscow, 30 October—The process of the transition to the market is now also spreading to the sphere of foreign economic relations. As of 1 November a new four-element system of exchange rates of the Soviet ruble with foreign currencies will be introduced in line with a decree by the president.

It consists of the official exchange rate (today about 0.62 rubles [R] for $1), the commercial exchange rate (R1.8 for $1), the special exchange rate (about R6.2), and the foreign currency price, which is formed within the framework of foreign currency auctions. What is the reason for such a number of elements and what are the specific characteristics of each of these rates?

The official ruble exchange rate existed in the past, too. Its basis is the comparison of the value of all elements of the gross national products of the USSR and other states. However, this basis, which was calculated many years ago, is obsolete. It reproduces all the disproportions of the Soviet prices compared with world prices. In addition, over all these years the official rate was corrected only one-sidedly, depending on exchange rate fluctuations of the foreign currencies compared with the ruble on the basis of the illusory premise of the "stability" of its value in the country. It is certainly understandable that such an exchange rate was unsuitable for international calculations; for this purpose, one had to use thousands of corrective coefficients and currencies differentiated in line with goods and kinds of currency. Of course, this created a nightmare of accounting for enterprises that engaged in operations on foreign markets. For the state such coefficients meant large-scale subsidies for exports and imports.

During the foreign currency reform the official exchange rate has now been recognized as obsolete. However, experts insisted on its preservation for international economic comparisons and because part of the debts of the developing countries in the USSR are calculated in rubles. This means that an official devaluation of the ruble would mean the devaluation of these debts by about R18 billion.

Instead of such a devaluation, it was decided to introduce an independent commercial ruble exchange rate as of 1 November, which is calculated especially for use in the USSR's foreign economic relations. It is based on not all elements of the gross national product but only the comparative value of a "basket" of goods and services, which are circulating in USSR foreign trade in new Soviet prices (in line with price lists of the State Committee for Prices) and world prices. The value of this

exchange rate of R1.8 for $1 brings these two price categories closer together and makes it possible to do without differentiated coefficients for foreign currencies. The increase in the ruble revenues of the companies for export makes it possible to reduce subsidies to a minimum. Of course, imports will become proportionally more expensive at the same time. This, however, will contribute to rationalizing imports and stopping excessive imports.

In calculating the commercial exchange rate, there have been opinions both in favor of reducing and increasing the value of 1.8.

"Consumer Basket" and Tourist Exchange Rate

However, at a value of 1.5 to 1.6, the export of about 20 percent of the production of Soviet machine building proves to be unprofitable. At a value of over 1.8 the exchange rate is oriented toward costs and covers any costs of the exporters. Increasing the costs of imports by such amounts would start generating additional inflation.

In the long run, the special (tourist) rate will also be preserved, which is intended for noncommercial operations of Soviet and foreign citizens (travel abroad, inheritances, etc.). It was calculated on the basis of the evaluation of the "consumer basket" of goods and services in Soviet and world prices and is supposed to make legal exchange of their currencies for rubles more attractive for foreign citizens to the detriment of the "black market."

Finally, hand in hand with the development of the foreign currency market in the country (auctions and stock exchanges), the market price of foreign currencies is formed, which will develop on the basis of the ratio between demand and supply of foreign currency and rubles at the respective auctions.

Such a form of trade with foreign currency will expand the amount of foreign currency that flows back during operations of enterprises and organizations and ensure access to foreign currency by those who do not have any. Joint ventures and, during the next stages of the development of the foreign currency market, foreign and Soviet citizens will be permitted to attend auctions. For the latter auctions will become the most important sources of foreign currency for private travel abroad.

Of course, this system is not perfect. It can only be a transitional system. From the international point of view, too, it is not particularly good if the country has many foreign exchange rates. But this system has mechanisms that can be used to perfect it further. First, the official, the commercial, and the special exchange rate are regularly corrected by the USSR State Bank on the basis of the dynamism of the exchange rates of foreign currencies, and this will make these rates basically fluctuate freely in contrast to the former practice in the Soviet economy. They will react flexibly to the realities of the market. Second, these exchange rates will approach each other slowly. The official and the special exchange rate will disappear first in this process. And the commercial exchange rate will become the main exchange rate. After the ruble has become convertible, it will have one single exchange rate that is regulated by the market. This will finally open up the path for the Soviet Union to world finances and to the IMF. With a convertible currency the USSR economy will in fact be open and part of the world economy.

The main objective obstacles on this path are the current critical state of the national economy and the financial imbalances. The subjective obstacles are economically incompetent attempts to create "regional currencies" and ignorant statements on the need for immediate convertibility of the ruble. One has to be aware of the fact that the ruble cannot be healthy in international calculations if it is sick in the country itself. Today convertibility would mean a disastrously low exchange rate for the Soviet currency. Perhaps this would be okay for those who are trying to exchange their rubles into foreign currency at any price. But in connection with a repeated increase in the costs of imports, it would lead to the closing down of enterprises that use imported raw materials and components. For the people such a "convertibility" would have the effect of a draconian monetary reform at their expense.

Orlov Considers 'Marshall Plan' To Aid Reform

914D0020A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian No 41, 13 Oct 90 p 4

[Interview with A.V. Orlov, professor, doctor of economic sciences, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for the Economic Reform, by Leonid Galinskiy; place and date not given: "On the Brink of the Abyss; 'A Marshall Plan' for the USSR?"]

[Text] *Since the time of ancient Rome, and at all times, the main concern of the powers that be has been to meet a simple demand of the people contained in a short phrase: Bread and diversions! However, even now these words sound as an imperious instruction by the populace for any government with self-respect.*

As far as diversions per capita are concerned, so far we have not been bringing up the rear. People's experts of the stage and venerable stars of the capital city and provincial stage provide merriment for the audience. Alas, as far as bread is concerned, we are experiencing certain difficulties. The government is having more and more trouble coping with the difficulties, and here we have a discordant chorus from both the right and the left asking: "How much longer?"

Indeed, the situation is complex; it calls for resolute unconventional actions. What actions exactly? Opinions concerning this are far from identical. Today, A.V. Orlov, professor, doctor of economic sciences, deputy chairman

of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Economic Reform, shares his views on this subject with our correspondent.

[Galinskiy] What is the actual demand situation in the market, and what does tomorrow hold in store for us, since it is not the symptoms of a crisis but the latter itself that is knocking on the door of almost every Soviet family, and since social tension has reached a dangerous mark? I opened my conversation with Professor A.V. Orlov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for the Economic Reform, with these questions.

[Orlov] Indeed, as economists maintain, the situation in trade is perceptibly marked by the syndrome of "hungry eyes." We are dealing with the attributes of a crisis, pronounced inflation, and mounting depression. Trade is near a collapse. The shoppers want to buy everything that is still for sale. In the course of this, political tension in the country and a strike movement with political demands mount, and confidence in the government declines. The situation is exacerbated by the return of military units from East Europe. A grave social situation in the environment of delayed decisions becomes a real source of dissatisfaction.

[Galinskiy] It is going from bad to worse. The picture you have painted, apparently without exaggeration, gives no reason to be optimistic. However, there is no such thing as a situation without a way out, all the more so because, as you maintain, it was predicted early enough. Would it be logical to suggest that measures were also planned to stabilize the consumer market?

[Orlov] Of course. At present, it is important not to lose control of the political situation; to this end, it is necessary to urgently reassure the consumers. It is no longer possible to accomplish this in the absence of so-called merchandise intervention, primarily by way of imports. As we see it, imports are one of the necessary conditions capable of alleviating the situation. Incidentally, this is what the leading economists of the country said as early as several years ago. The provision of $15 to $20 billion in Western loans is probably a matter of time. We may infer that a substantial segment of a 5-billion-mark loan from FRG banks has been applied to restoring our solvency and credit worthiness and meeting between $2 and $2.5 billion dollars in hot debts. Alternative sources for replenishing currency are associated with an abrupt change in defense expenditures or the sale of resources, including hard-to-sell goods and wastes, which we do not have the technology for processing.

[Galinskiy] If I understand you correctly, you are referring to imports as a global measure for saturating the consumer market. However, it appears that a tremendous transaction of this kind may involve priorities: Some things definitely need to be purchased immediately, while certain other things may wait.

[Orlov] Everything is going to depend on our financial potential. Hard-currency resources will dictate import scenarios. Given a minimum of hard currency, only foodstuffs and drugs for children and the elderly should be purchased. This is indisputable. A compromise scenario is possible—purchasing foodstuffs for all groups of the population, of course, funds permitting. Finally, the most desirable scenario, given as large a hard-currency loan as possible, is to purchase foodstuffs, clothing, footwear, means of personal hygiene, video equipment, small appliances, machinery, and technologies. However, I would like to repeat that imports of foodstuffs, dietary and baby food, juices, sugar substitutes, popular drugs, and vitamins are the highest priority. Naturally, such purchases should take into account hard-currency efficiency if we set the task of tying up the excessive monetary funds of the population. The compromise strategy is the most expedient.

[Galinskiy] Fine, let us assume that our foreign-trade merchants will carry out this most complex operation brilliantly and will purchase billions of dollars-worth of everything that the populace throughout our boundless country needs. However, in view of our entrenched negligence and irresponsibility, is there a guarantee that foodstuffs, clothing, footwear, drugs, and the rest of it will reach every urban and rural family directly and without losses? Will we cope with a stream of abundance if, God willing, it inundates us?

[Orlov] To be sure, there is a formidable problem here because at issue would be a massive merchandise intervention. The significance of delivering and storing what has been purchased is great under the circumstances. The task is to reduce losses to a minimum on the way to the consumer. As we see it, the task will be accomplished if the Army is used for transportation, warehousing, and security and if a certain proportion of imports are allocated to the military. For example, purchasing foodstuffs worth between $3 and $5 billion requires that roughly between six and 11 million tonnes of freight be carried. We should also take into account the unfavorable experience of carrying fruits and vegetables from East European countries in 1989 and foodstuffs from the FRG this year.

[Galinskiy] This is to say that the Army is the only hope. How many regiments or divisions will be required for this purpose? What is to be done about the next stage, which is also important—trade and distribution? Can we not do without the Army once again?

[Orlov] How many soldiers and officers will be required to escort and deliver imported freight is not all that important. This is no problem. However, I believe that the spatial distribution and organization of sales will call for a very serious attitude on the part of all interested parties, including representatives of the public. I would discern four approaches to distributing what has been imported. We will conventionally term the first approach leveling: Approximately equal quantities of merchandise for all people will be provided through

ration cards or vouchers. Let us call the second approach coordinated. In this case, resources should be distributed among the republics on the basis of an agreement of their representatives. I would call the third approach commercial: Sales of imported merchandise will be organized everywhere at elevated prices, for example, at those currently used in commercial stores. Finally, there is the fourth, so-called, mixed approach: The center distributes everything purchased only to Union republics, and the details of intrarepublic distribution are worked out locally.

The leveling approach guarantees the populace a certain minimum of foodstuffs. Ration cards or vouchers ensure purchasing by specific individuals. They make it possible to provide compensation for some or all of the cost of purchasing the most socially significant foodstuffs, if free or ceiling prices for them are introduced. At present, minimal guarantees are more important for consumers than a wide selection of goods. This system is no better than a ration-card or voucher system in the case of proportional distribution, for example, among the population of a region. The sale of some foodstuffs at commercial prices is feasible. The population is prepared to purchase imported foodstuffs, in particular confectioneries, at prices 1.5 times higher than those of their domestic analogs. Given commercial prices, equal access of the populace to imported goods that are not vital necessities will be ensured. At the same time, actual competition for domestic products will be provided. In addition, the demand of medium- and high-income groups of the population will be drawn away from domestic goods.

At the Union level, the use of the fourth approach under the control of the Presidential Council and the government is the most realistic, whereas inside the republics a combination of the first and third approaches is. All of the above make it possible to select the most optimal decision.

[Galinskiy] So far we have been talking about the general direction of import deliveries. More specifically, what do we intend to purchase as far as, for example, foodstuffs are concerned?

[Orlov] In keeping with priorities, imports in this merchandise group should consist of fresh fruits, subtropical fruits, citruses, fresh vegetables, canned fruits and vegetables—stewed fruits, jams, juices, natural and cold-dish canned vegetables, dried fruits, dried fruit mixes, baby food, beef, cheese, butter and vegetable oil, coffee and instant coffee, and an extensive assortment of spices. Our deteriorating situation necessitates the choice of these products. The share of fresh vegetables in the diet of the populace is currently under one-half of the norm recommended by scientists; substantial quantities of fruits are not put on the table, and demand for pears and apples has not been met continuously. This is to say nothing about bananas, figs, quince, persimmons, and pomegranates, which are almost unknown to us.

However, while talking about major purchases of foodstuffs we should also keep in mind taking advantage of our own opportunities as much as possible. If advanced Western technologies are made available to our dairy and food-processing industries they will make it possible to increase perceptibly the output of acidophilous products with additives, cheese, and ice cream, and to start up at small plants the manufacturing of processed meats with desired features and in good packages for home cooking.

[Galinskiy] I would ask you to name some nonfood items that we are planning to purchase.

[Orlov] Unfortunately, we will not be able to provide goods in short supply through the efforts of only our domestic producers for several years to come. Let me cite some numbers. The degree of attainment of standard rational availability levels in our country for refrigerators is under 70 percent; for freezers, 20 percent; electric appliances for food preparation, between 15 and 20 percent; TV sets, about 70 percent, out of which color TV sets, 40 percent; and for cars under one-third. Conversion should change the situation somewhat with regard to some of the enumerated goods as early as the end of this year. We have conditioned our populace to bear a shortage of daily necessities: suits, dresses, coats, shoes, boots, and high boots. How long can we go on trying the patience of the people?! It is necessary first of all to purchase good-quality, fashionable clothes and footwear, household appliances, audio equipment, sewing machines, furniture, garden shacks, toys. It is possible to purchase used automobiles in, say, Japan and Austria and sell them at commercial prices.

[Galinskiy] Judging from your narration, the merchandise intervention and its possible results draw to a substantial degree on the financial support of the West. I believe that I will not be the only one to find similarities between this and the economic aid by Americans to Europe, known as the "Marshall Plan." This economic aid was "branded" in every way possible in our country in the time of Stalin and later—"fettering," "rapacious," and "colonial," and these were not the worst of the ideological labels of that time. As it turned out, such aid helped post-war Europe greatly. Are we not trying to use a rational element of the "Marshall Plan" that has already been forgotten by many? Would you please remind us of its basics.

[Orlov] This meant a clearly structured restoration program for 16 European countries and West Germany worked out jointly by these countries. Its main objective was to attain an improvement of the economic situation by the end of 1951, which would ensure a regular standard of living in countries drawn into the orbit of the "Marshall Plan." It is interesting to notice a maximum of efforts by all countries aimed at increasing domestic production and attaining financial stability; all countries undertook to put the budget and currency emission in order, as well as to chart a course toward removing trade and currency restrictions and reinforcing cooperation

between participating countries. Apart from the joint program, all countries signed individual agreements with the United States, including the following obligations: to stabilize their national currencies, to boost agricultural and industrial output, and to furnish appropriate economic information to the American administration, publishing it once every three months.

Countries taking part in the implementation of the plan worked out their national programs for one year and for four years. They were compiled with the participation of the U.S. legations. They were based on requests to supply specific goods necessary for the restoration of the country. A merchandise category was specified rather than a specific product brand. It made no difference for specific American exporters whether financing was arranged between the governments as a loan or a gift. They were paid on the basis of a letter of guarantee akin to a letter of credit.

[Galinskiy] What elements of the "Marshall Plan" are acceptable to the USSR?

[Orlov] Despite the fact that the situation at the time of accepting the "Marshall Plan" for West Europe was substantially different from our present-day situation, we now have in common the interest of both the Soviet Union and potential donor countries in developing a market economy in the USSR and drawing it into the world economy. At issue is not aid as such, but the reinforcement of a world economic order and international security, as was the issue in the post-war period. In this sense, there are certain elements of the "Marshall Plan" that may be useful in developing the mechanisms of cooperation between the West and our country. In this matter, experts, from among whom I would distinguish the talented scientist from the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Gizel Anulova, have scenarios to offer. I believe the following to be acceptable. It includes ensuring an active role of the USSR in determining the spheres in which resources will be provided to us, predominant reliance on decentralized channels for trade and investment and on relations between independent economic units, and the depoliticization of aid. While all republics are entitled to a full-fledged voice in determining their needs, overall coordination and the last word should belong to an all-Union aid committee. All of this is similar to the organization of the "Marshall Plan."

Support for the USSR should play a peculiar role that the "Marshall Plan" did not have—to promote the creation of modern market structures. In the long run, the aid organs should regenerate into investment foundations, wholesale trade companies, and so on.

[Galinskiy] Is this an idea, a theoretical consideration, or is a program of specific actions coordinated with Western partners at issue?

[Orlov] This is not just an idea. We see arrangements for the implementation of this proposal as follows. A committee is set up in our country consisting of representatives of republics and central authorities. Together with foreign experts, the committee determines what is most necessary for the rapid invigoration of domestic production and support of the populace. Special studies on the state of affairs in the Soviet economy that have been promised to us may also be very helpful. They may be prepared by the IMF and the Commission of European Communities.

The results of such work should be embodied, in the shortest time possible, in a program acknowledged by all "donors." At a minimum, these should be all countries of "the Seven" capable of allocating $15 to $20 billion and more. Along with our resource needs, granting unqualified independence to enterprises, putting the budget and currency emission in order, and using the domestic potential to the maximum will be mandatory prerequisites for the program.

After developing and publishing the program, the committee will begin to act along two avenues. First, it will conduct negotiations with the countries providing aid to us, and determine the proportion of long-term preferential-rate loans and gifts, as well as other conditions for financing the program. Second, the committee will appeal to Soviet enterprises, cooperatives, and private entrepreneurs with a proposal to file requests for the delivery of particular goods that are necessary for the development of production. If a request is in line with established priorities, an enterprise will be empowered by the committee to acquire equipment, raw materials, and so on, and at the same time an import license will be issued. From then on, it is up to the enterprise itself to look for foreign suppliers, or use the help of a middleman, and sign a transaction with the supplier. In this case, foreign exporters will be paid from donated funds in a form approximating a letter of credit rather than from its Soviet partner enterprise. However, I would like to note that not one such transaction will be free of charge for Soviet enterprises. They will be obliged to pay to the committee a sum in rubles equivalent to the dollar value of the transaction for the goods delivered. Of course, the currency exchange rate for conversion should be given special consideration: At any rate, it should prompt enterprises not to treat deliveries within the framework of assistance as freebie resources. Besides, it is important to envisage ways to use (or destroy) the rubles accumulated by the committee. The main condition is for this to be of an anti-inflationary nature.

The condition of our country's transportation system is the main impediment to this model. Transportation channels turned out to be strained and products were not unloaded for months even when the USSR Government purchased washing detergents and other consumer goods valued at 1 billion foreign currency rubles. What is going to happen if imports worth tens of billions of rubles start arriving that, in addition, have been ordered by decentralized consumers? The only way out is to direct priority

efforts and a segment of the aid to putting transportation in order. It is no accident that in the "Marshall Plan" invigoration of the transportation infrastructure in West Europe was also the top priority. It is appropriate to recall here that extensive railroad construction in Russia in the 1890's was associated with two most important circumstances: the development of joint-stock forms of property and a major influx of foreign capital. In general, deliveries within the framework of assistance should be combined with incentives for foreign investment in the USSR in projects directly associated with the perestroyka program. The main point that preferential financing from abroad may accomplish in this matter would be to guarantee the exchange of profits from investments into hard currencies and an opportunity to repatriate the investments proper, if necessary. The experience of the "Marshall Plan" suggests that it is enough to allocate no more than five to 10 percent of the total volume of assistance for such purposes. After all, only enterprises incapable of obtaining foreign currency for transferring profits in any other manner, that is, those working primarily for the USSR domestic market, are at issue.

[Galinskiy] Finally, I would like to ask you about the following: You said that merchandise intervention by way of imports may have a long-term favorable impact only if resolute measures are taken to develop a market environment and commercial structures. Who is to take "resolute measures?" Is it the government? Is it the president?

[Orlov] I believe that the adoption of a ukase by the USSR president would be the most effective.... It is also very important for the president, the head of government, to appeal to the people as soon as possible: Take everything that is left in the field for yourselves, and sell to the people what you can. If only we prevent hope from dying....

Former Envoy Cautious on Polish Market Model

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[Interview with V.I. Brovikov, former USSR ambassador to Poland, by V. Litvin; place and date not given; published under the rubric "World Events": "A Market, But What Kind? V. Brovikov, former USSR ambassador to Poland, on 'shock therapy' prescriptions"]

[Text] References to the Polish experience, to the so-called "Balcerowicz plan," may often be heard in the stormy polemic developing around programs for the transition to a market. The references are completely understandable inasmuch as the Poles have already taken the first steps down the path we are just now contemplating. We believe that the readers will find it interesting to hear the opinion on this subject of Vladimir Ignatyevich Brovikov, who until recently was ambassador of the Soviet Union to Poland and has firsthand information on the economic transformations taking place there.

[Litvin] Vladimir Ignatyevich, what is the essence of the "Balcerowicz plan," that is to say the Polish variant of the transition to a market economy? If we are to believe some of our articles, a number of its significant provisions are reflected in the 500 days program.

[Brovikov] The plan rests on three bases: Privatizing public property, that is to say transferring a significant portion of it to private hands, introducing free market prices, and making a comprehensive effort to attract foreign capital. This plan, if we are to be precise, does not belong so much to Balcerowicz as to the U.S. economist Jeffry Sachs. The concrete measures were worked out with the aid of experts from the International Monetary Fund [IMF], which controls their implementation fairly strictly—after all, Poland was granted considerable credit for their implementation. Incidentally, the 500 days program is also being developed in close contact with Western specialists, as Academician S. Shatalin has mentioned. As far as I know, Jeffry Sachs was among them. The prescriptions of Sachs and his colleagues are widely used in Chili, Argentina, Brazil, and other developed countries. True, in those cases the opposition of the broad masses of workers has compelled the authorities to introduce certain corrections in the plans for "healing" the economy. In the case of Poland the strictest variant was chosen, and it received the name "shock therapy."

Undoubtedly a number of the prescriptions and recommendations of Western economists are of a nature common to all mankind, and they can and should be heeded without regard for who is expressing them: liberal, socialist, or conservative. I will even say that it would be better if the experts of the IMF, once they have studied the economic situation of our country, worked out their own program for the transition to a market. Especially because, as opposed to our own domestic imitators, they are far more competent and try as far as possible to take into account the particular nature of a specific nation, which the 500 days program, in my opinion, ignores. In the thirties, for instance, the services of Western specialists and engineers were widely used in our economy, and the money to pay for their services was made available. Why should that experience not be used today?

On the other hand, there is a certain boundary which cannot be crossed without the threat of great harm. I do not share the anticommunist convictions of A.I. Solzhenitsyn, but in his last article, "How We Are To Build Up Russia," he justifiably warns of the destructiveness of thoughtless imitation of foreign experience and says that a mechanical adoption of foreign models will inevitably lead to colonial enslavement of Russia. Here he is completely correct. As it is, recent events show that the highly praised imported market model is not passing the test.

[Litvin] What are you referring to?

[Brovikov] The virtual repudiation of the 500 days program, which is not, however, surprising: The extreme character of the program was apparent to everyone who had not succumbed to the giddiness of "democratic" successes at elections and rallies. It is true that adherents of the program are trying to save face and blame the Union government for every sin, and they are loudly grieving that now there is no avoiding a reduction in the living standard. As though it were not clear immediately after publication of the 500 days program.

[Litvin] However, let us return to Poland. Now that it has decided to make the "leap into the market" according to the rules worked out by the experts of the IMF, have its expectations been justified?

[Brovikov] In general, I would not risk answering that question conclusively. But some things have been accomplished. It has ensured internal convertibility of the zloty, which by itself is no small achievement, the furious pace of inflation has been reduced, and high-quality goods have appeared on the shelves—somewhat less than in the West, it is true, but they have appeared. Growing unemployment—which at present is approaching a million in Poland—has forced the Poles to value their jobs more. But on the whole the reform is grinding to a halt, and the large fund of confidence that was at the disposal of the government of Mazowiecki, an undoubtedly strong prime minister in my opinion, has practically been exhausted. Lech Walesa, who reacts quite sensitively to changes in the public mood, was one of the first to understand this and nominated himself for the post of president, having sharply criticized the Mazowiecki government specifically for "indecision" in the implementation of the economic reforms....

[Litvin] Exactly how is the slowdown in reform apparent?

[Brovikov] Practically not one of the major tasks, with the exception of providing for convertibility of the zloty, has been achieved. Despite apparently ideal conditions, privatization, even in the sphere of public trade, is moving at a snail's pace. For the time being foreign capital is not moving into Poland in any substantial volume. The goods appearing on the shelves of stores are only creating an illusory abundance: Prices are skyrocketing by a factor of 10 or more and making them practically inaccessible to the majority of Poles. A skilled worker earning 1 million zloty may, for example, purchase only a pair of sneakers on his wages. Translated into our currency, a kilogram of beef costs up to 40 rubles. Even if you take into account the fact that the Poles' wages are more than twice ours, the prices speak for themselves. Of course this is preferable to empty store shelves in the face of a huge mass of depreciated currency, but it is only relatively preferable in the way that, let us say, an infarction is preferable to a stroke.

To be honest, I am struck by the superficiality of some of our specialists who, taking short trips to look in the windows, hurry back to proclaim the success of the Polish experiment. They should talk to the common Poles and to those who live in the world of daily reality, not of deceitful mirror illusions. According to official data, more than 60 percent of the population has fallen into the poverty zone, and 20 percent of those are in extreme need. Citing increasing instances of fainting from hunger in schools, Professor S. Chayka, who is famous for his directness and candor, has declared that the biological foundations of the existence of the Polish people are threatened at present. On the whole, since the Balcerowicz plan was first implemented the living standard of the Poles has dropped by almost 40 percent.

[Litvin] Nonetheless, goods have appeared. It seems that production is still gaining momentum....

[Brovikov] On the contrary. In Poland right now there is a severe industrial slump and production of industrial output has declined by one-third, although recently the pace of its decline has slowed somewhat. For the most part the goods are imported. The West is strong enough to inundate Poland with its leftover output. It is not the same as the Soviet market, which by virtue of its colossal capacity could not be fully saturated with any kind of imported goods. To be honest, I am still surprised that the rate of private enterprise and initiative in Poland remains so low. After all, there are far more energetic, resourceful, people who know how to earn money there than exist in our country. There are incomparably more diverse and deeper ties with private enterprise circles in the West. Furthermore, the private tradesman predominates almost completely in agriculture. In short, the Poles were far more prepared than we are, and nonetheless there have not been any substantial achievements. Alarming thoughts creep in despite oneself concerning the prospects for our own near future...

[Litvin] How does one explain the fact that the market reacted by going into a stall? And why is the attraction of foreign capital not helping to overcome it?

[Brovikov] There are many reasons, but one of the main ones is the complexity of restructuring their psychology, of changing their consciousness, and of mastering qualitatively different habits and characteristics, which will take many years to do of course. In countries like Brazil and South Korea it was much easier: The market and private enterprise were there in a basic form, and the immediate threat of inevitable poverty and famine is a stern teacher. It is harder for us. After all, we are accustomed to certain social protections and a level of material, spiritual, and political culture.

Yes, the Poles, like us, are ready to "tighten their belts" for a time, put up with a temporary change for the worse in the situation in exchange for a possible improvement in the future. But will they put up with a 12- to 14-hour working day, a curtailment of their accustomed socio-economic rights, the tyranny of entrepreneurs, mass poverty and homelessness, high unemployment, and other inevitable flaws of "rudimentary" capitalism? Hardly. But this is just what is awaiting Poland. And, I

expect, us too if we accept the Brazil, South Korea, Taiwan, and similar variants as models to be imitated. Although, of course, individual facets to the positive experience of these states should not be denied. Or the fact that this phenomenon has not been investigated to the end.

I hardly entertain fears that the path to privatization will lead to the legalization of the illegally obtained capital of black market operators through its investment in industrial enterprises. Perhaps some of them will obtain a small mill or factory, but that will be more an exception than the rule. The rule will be mass purchase of plots of land and housing. At present most of our potential Rockefellers and Fords are intriguers who are accustomed to skimming off the cream and gaining easy money, not multiplying profits by modernizing production as in the United States or the FRG, where a class of modern entrepreneurs has formed as a result of many decades of the most bitter competitive struggle. But neither the Poles nor our people are going to wait so long.

One can go forward confidently only by relying on the solid foundation of what has been achieved. If you wish, this is an objective law of humanity. It is persuasively proven by the development of all advanced countries without exception, such as the United States, FRG, or Japan, whose industrial development for the most part took and takes into consideration national traditions, customs, and characteristics, and is accompanied by a noticeable growth in patriotic sentiments. But we are trying to completely destroy our own historical foundation and to trample our hard-earned traditions into the mud, even though there is much that is valuable in them.

[Litvin] For example....

[Brovikov] Long-term planning and implementation of state programs, especially in the resolution of important scientific, technical, and social problems. In Japan, for example, the output of more than 2,000 types of industrial production—several times more than in our country today—is planned for many years ahead. And over there the plan is really a law, as opposed to our own present absence of obligation or responsibility. As you know, we also had stern planning discipline in the forties and fifties.

After all, it is a fact that, possessing only 30 percent of the economic potential of the United States, we advanced to the leading scientific and technical boundaries and, in terms of the rate of growth in industrial production, labor productivity, and increases in material and spiritual welfare of the workers, we developed noticeably faster than the capitalist countries. It is enough to say that the Soviet Union was the first of the warring powers to abolish ration cards, at which time prices fell by 10 percent annually. In 1953 the Soviet Union occupied third place in the world in the proportion of youth with higher education; in 1987 it was in 42d place.

[Litvin] The considerations that you cite are being contested in many articles. Gosplan [State Planning Committee] itself has long ago become a synonym for mismanagement and confusion.

[Brovikov] Note that the increase in mismanagement and confusion occurred in parallel with the weakening of Gosplan and its regulating role. The complete abolishment of Gosplan, which our valiant radicals are calling for, will turn into economic paralysis of the country. It is quite a different matter to say that the role, functions, and methods of Gosplan are in need of radical renewal. However, even under conditions of a capitalist market the regulatory role of the state does not weaken but, on the contrary, grows stronger. Administrative levers are actively used alongside economic ones, as the practice of all advanced powers without exception shows. It would be the height of naivete to suppose that the market will put everything right and automatically impose order. As for those who dispute the figures I have cited, I rely on the authority of "third-party arbitrators"—reliable bourgeois economists and fundamental opponents of Marxist theory.

Referring to our fifties, F. Lindsay, for example, wrote:

"Russia has undergone extremely fast economic growth over the last decade.... The Soviet economic threat is great and is growing quickly."

And here is one more quotation:

"All the remarkable results of the industrial system are the result of planning: Our rockets could not make it to the moon if their creation depended on market stimuli. To an equal degree this is also the case for other services, comforts, and products—from telephone communications to the comfort of a car or of a toothbrush and toothpaste.... To leave the resolution of all these problems to the market is, from the point of view of those who are most affected, the same as leaving it to blind chance."

Who do you think these words belong to? One of the leading figures of bourgeois economic science, J. Galbraith, stated them in one of his most famous works, "The New Industrial Society," which has been translated, incidentally, into Russian. At one time Galbraith occupied an important governmental post in the United States and established prices on the output of major corporations, which he cited in his memoirs as an example of state regulation of the economy. Incidentally, the scholar visited our country as well and, having familiarized himself with the initial outlines of our "radical" transition to a market, called them a "mental aberration of a clinical nature"....

You must agree that it is a paradox: As the West moves forward toward a plan, we move backward toward the elements of a market; and we proclaim our "progressiveness"!

[Litvin] If we are to believe numerous statements, the market is practically the only means of saving the Union from disintegration and of saving the population from a general shortage of goods with an explosive growth of social tension....

[Brovikov] You are absolutely wrong.... The market always was and will be the catalyst of tension. In many countries the forced development of market relations has been accompanied by an aggravation of social, ethnic, and political confrontation which has even reached the point of civil war. And this is the natural course of events; it cannot be avoided. In the best case, such an exacerbation of the situation can be mitigated somewhat by a skillful mechanism.

According to economists whom I believe have been unfairly ignored, implementation of the program of S. Shatalin will lead to an increase in prices on goods by a factor of at least 3.5. You know how that will affect social tension.

[Litvin] So far as I understand you, mastery of market relations must be approached more cautiously, putting great reliance on the selection and nomination to key posts of competent people who know, as one of the workers at a high assembly put it, how "to really handle things." In short, "the cadres are taking care of everything".... It sounds ominously familiar....

[Brovikov] Yes, that really is my opinion. But these "ominous," as you expressed it, words may also be heard in the workshops and offices of leaders of the major Japanese corporations. And not just Japanese, but American and West European "captains of industry" devote much more attention and time to the choice and promotion of competent administrative cadres than to reorganizing their firms and corporations, where business is quite conservative. And at state enterprises and in institutions they practice something that is the opposite of our own approach.

[Litvin] Excuse me, but over recent years the cadres in our country have been replaced almost everywhere.

[Brovikov] Quantitatively, but not qualitatively. The new slogans are superimposed on the old methods of execution, and lately they have been completely absent, which has led to the collapse of perestroyka. They said it right at the last CPSU Central Committee plenum: The root of everything is the inertia of old thinking. The situation is aggravated by the fact that the "democrats" replacing the traditional "apparatchiks" are granted leading positions not because of great competence and skill but because of their shrill denunciations and loud promises. They sometimes conduct business in a worse fashion, not even knowing the basics about it. I propose that in any system, including a market system, it is necessary to replace leaders who are obstructing business with competent people.

'Sociologists' Debate Reform's Impact on Society

PM3110135590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Oct 90 Union Edition p 2

[Article by Academician T. Zaslavskaya, Candidate of Economic Sciences L. Kosals, and Doctor of Economic Sciences R. Ryvkina: "Guarantees for Economic Freedom; Sociologists Assess Basic Guidelines for Transition to Market"]

[Text] A sitting of the sociological council created under the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Economic Reform has discussed the Basic Guidelines for the Stabilization of the National Economy and the Transition to a Market Economy. Sociologists, economists, and workers of the USSR Council of Ministers took part.

Will the document that has been adopted promote the successful progress of economic reform? To answer this question you have to consider the present-day situation in the country. That is why it is natural that the speakers addressed themselves to the most acute problems on whose solution the Basic Guidelines should work. Among them five were deemed the most important: 1) the threat of famine; 2) people's tiredness, their pessimism and distrust of political leaders; 3) universal conflicts; 4) the loss of control; 5) alienation from social labor and workers' low labor yield. A. Yeleusizov, I. Lavrovskiy, N. Lapin, A. Orlov, Zh. Toshchenko, N. Chizhov, and S. Shpilko spoke in the debate.

In this situation the speakers noted that the Basic Guidelines are good in that they have been adopted. The course toward creating a market in the country has thus been legalized. A chance is appearing that the "upper echelons" will finally begin to steer a specific line toward developing market relations, that the declarations will end, and that normal state activity to create the market will begin.

At the same time it was noted that the document that has been adopted gives no grounds for rosy-hued optimism primarily because of its profoundly compromise-based nature. An attempt has been made to consider in one program documents which are largely contradictory in spirit: the government program and the Shatalin program. An attempt to retain the power of the center on the main issues and at the same time to give the republics as much freedom as possible. The speakers assessed the Basic Guidelines not as a specific economic program but rather as a political declaration in which the solution of specific questions is handed over to the republics. They noted that on the one hand this could help to consider local conditions and the diversity of forms of transition to the market. On the other hand this relieves the center of responsibility for the results of the economic reform and retains the situation of uncertainty and lack of firm guarantees of the implementation of the course that has been adopted. The recent contradictory decrees of the president intensify these fears.

Naturally, the speakers assessed the feasibility of a number of promises made in the Basic Guidelines. In their opinion the unrealistic promises include those to ensure social justice through the market. Of course, the introduction of the market could eliminate the situation whereby he who works best lives worst. The market can create conditions for the self-fulfillment of previously unrecognized vigorous people. At the same time the market can generate new injustices our society did not know before. Thus, under market economy conditions even a fine worker can lose his job if the enterprise where he works has been ruined. It is also obvious that that the freedom to choose jobs can only be ensured if registration is repealed.

There was a special talk about housing. The idea of creating a housing market was unconditionally supported, so that apartments can be freely sold and bought. The need was noted to ensure a specific minimum of housing for all, including those who cannot work productively.

The question of ownership of the land still remains open. Will those who want to cultivate it and can do so receive land for their undivided disposal and ownership? Are more effective guarantees needed so that they will not be dependent on bureaucratic arbitrariness? Can land be bought and sold and bequeathed? What terms is it planned to create for this? The Basic Guidelines say: "The production ties of enterprises and organizations of the agro-industrial complex and enterprises of other sectors of the national economy are maintained." Is it possible here to expect the formation of a market in the agro-industrial complex and the creation of conditions for the development of individual farms?

How can the Basic Guidelines be made a fundamental document? It is essential to transform it from a "program of the upper echelons" into a "program of the masses." The first step in this direction must be taken by the government, issuing explanations of the program. A series of meetings should be organized between the president, the authors of the Basic Guidelines, members of the government, and the public centrally and locally. During these meetings social consensus and mutual understanding should be reached between the government and the people. Contentious and ambiguous points of the program should be removed. But the most important thing is that guarantees are needed of the implementation of a market course and of an end to wavering and deviations.

The most important of the guarantees demanded concerns the right to private ownership. Only private ownership can create conditions for the formation of a social stratum of entrepreneurs. Yet without the formation of this stratum no market is possible. It is true that the program says: The basis of the economy consists of free commodity producers who augment their property and thus the national wealth." But how to switch from today's ownership by no one to ownership by someone; from irresponsibility toward the state and society to economic responsibility? How to create these free commodity producers wholly employed in augmenting the national wealth? What is the social base for resolving this task? What steps must be taken to form a social stratum of entrepreneurs? The government must give specific answers to all these questions. These questions must be studied.

For a start we must realize that it is a case of creating a new social class in the country—a class of owners who exist not through selling their work power to the state but through entrepreneurial activity undertaken at their own risk independently of the state, activity which promotes the growth of their own capital and on this basis the growth of national wealth.

Specific social qualities are needed for entrepreneurial activity: energy, competence, the ability to take risks, creative imagination, organizational abilities, the ability to set up contacts with people. Although in theory the importance of these qualities has always been admitted, in life it has been different: The state system of hiring manpower has suppressed precisely those qualities without which a real market economy is impossible.

As stated above, the Basic Guidelines in principle give the republics wide scope in elaborating their own programs which give specific details of the paths for transition to the market. During the discussion it was noted that these programs should be subordinate to the task of the maximum expansion of economic freedom for the population on the one hand and to the creation of a system of minimum state guarantees for people (against hunger, cold, and poverty) on the other. It is necessary that the proposed economic measures to stabilize the republics' economy and develop a market economy in them should undergo sociological analysis with a view to predicting the possible social consequences. The prompt amendment of the decisions taken is needed.

During the implementation of the programs for the transition to the market it is very important to ensure sociological monitoring—constantly keeping track of the social results of economic reform both in the USSR as a whole and in individual republics and oblasts. If this is successfully done it would be possible to reveal the reaction of various social groups to the economic measures which the republics' governments are implementing and to assess people's attitude toward and readiness for various transformations and their real difficulties and requirements. This information, brought promptly to the attention of the organs of power and to the public, could promote the rapid revelation of hotbeds of social tension and the taking of measures to ensure that they do not become chronic social ailments. The involvement of sociologists in the elaboration and implementation of republican programs for market reform would make it possible to set up permanent dialogue between the organs of power and the population and consequently to ensure the latter's involvement in the discussion and implementation of programs.

Agricultural

'Critical' Conditions Imperil Kustanay Grain

PM0111163790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Oct 90 Evening Edition p 1

["Direct Line" report by correspondent Oleg Stefashin: "Hundreds of Thousands of Tonnes of Grain Perish"]

[Text] Kustanay—The harvest situation in Kustanay Oblast is critical.

Parts of the oblast have already been hit by heavy snow. It has covered temporary threshing floors and open areas, where, according to the most conservative estimates, about 800,000 tonnes of grain had accumulated.

The local authorities are doing their utmost to save the situation. In particular, the oblast agroindustrial committee has mobilized all available equipment at farms and motor transport enterprises and dispatched it to remote areas. Nonetheless, there is little chance that this will effect any perceptible change in the immediate future: There is still a shortage of vehicles.

Certainly, it is highly regrettable that when Kazakhstan's biggest grain-sowing oblast raised with the Union and republic government the question of allocating extra equipment it did not even get one-half of what it was requesting. It is obvious also, however, that even now it is not too late to save the grain from complete ruin.

Cooperative workers and representatives of the Baltic republics are prepared to purchase a considerable proportion of the harvest and transport it themselves. Note that the prices they are proposing are two or even three times higher than state prices. Such proposals promise definite benefits for the farms. But they cannot accept them because they do not have the right, so they have been told to squander the grain.

Agro-Industrial Exchange Opens in Ryazan

PM0111165590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Oct 90 First Edition p 1

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, TASS roundup report: "All-Union Agricultural Exchange Established"]

[Text] Ryazan—Trade has opened at the all-Union agro-industrial complex exchange which has been established here. Several hundred representatives from various parts of the country have arrived to conclude mutually advantageous deals. Despite the complex economic situation, the choice of goods, raw materials, materials, and secondary resources available is relatively great. Large markets are to help improve supplies in regions during the transition to the market.

Winter Difficulties Foreseen in Livestock Raising

PM0211111790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Oct 90 Union Edition p 1

[V. Gavrychkin report under the rubric "On Issues of the Day": "About Milk and Meat in Winter Homes"]

[Text] Our country has coped with grain, at least—I mean reaping—and no particular problems appear to be expected here now. Things will be far more difficult with vegetables, fruit, and potatoes. But here too it is not all the news is bad. In the feverish haste of harvest work, supplementing our food reserves for the winter at the cost of tremendous effort and panic "emergency measures," we seem to have conspired to forget another important matter—the winter, which livestock raisers have to get through. And not just get through, they have to work and supply meat, milk, and other products for the people's tables. What good things await us all here?

I will say frankly that there is nothing to get excited about. On analyzing recent reports from the State Committee for Statistics, I was on the point of rejoicing for the livestock raisers in the Republic of Moldova [Moldavia], where sales of livestock and poultry totaled 105 percent compared with last year. But I picked up the data for September, where this column now contained the figure of 116 (!) percent, not 105 percent. And it all became clear: Because of unreliable forage stocks, livestock numbers are hurriedly being reduced on the eve of the winter period.

However, the number of animals is being reduced not only in Moldovan livestock units. In the country as a whole today we have 2.8 million fewer cattle than one year ago, 2.9 million fewer hogs, 6.3 million fewer sheep and goats, and 6.6 million fewer birds. The numbers of cattle and sheep, for example, have fallen in all Union republics without exception, and the number of cows has fallen in 13 (apart from the Kirghiz and Turkmen SSR's [Soviet Socialist Republics]). The number of hogs has fallen everywhere but the Belorussian, Kazakh, and Turkmen SSR's, and there are fewer laying hens on farms in 11 Union republics.

What can you do if there is nothing to feed them on? By the beginning of October just 13.1 quintals of feed units had been procured per standard head of livestock, compared with 14.7 quintals last year. Things are particularly bad on collective and state farms in Moldova, Lithuania, Latvia, Russia, Belorussia, and Estonia. True, the situation is not hopeless. All the straw, other crop residues, and root crops have not yet been cleared from the fields. There is a pretty good reserve of grain forage. And yet all this requires thought and manpower. But wherever you look you see carelessness and mismanagement, the inclement fall sky is visible through the roofs of many livestock units, and many hundreds of feed shops have not been prepared for work.

The arguments over who is to blame for the new soaring of meat prices—the Russian or the Union government—

have not yet died down. Although it is as clear as can be that, if the USSR Council of Ministers had not provoked a delay over the surrender of livestock with its promise of new purchase prices, there would have been no need of countermeasures; but since this has happened, what is Russia to do when there is only enough meat left in Moscow, for example, for four days? And yet it is also time that something else was understood: If production remains at today's level (and in nine months it increased just 1.4 percent compared with last year), however much we play with prices, the food counters will not get any richer. Today the volume of foodstuffs entering the trade network meets only three-fourths of the public demand.

Whereas we have a crisis with food supplies, we are at an impasse with production of foodstuffs, and this must be frankly admitted. Livestock units are going into winter without feed, and here, even if you bang your head against a brick wall, nothing good will come of it, and productivity is pathetic. Livestock units are without feed, but the overwhelming majority of the arable land is occupied by grain crops, and the harvest—even our present "unprecedented" harvest—is no harvest either when compared with world standards. And we cannot even gather it properly.

It is naive, to say the least, to believe that it all boils down to a poor level of equipment in agriculture. Yes, it is weak and bad. But as long as we sow more than 200 million hectares of arable land (and given the present return per hectare, we are obliged to sow them), we will never have enough equipment, fuel, or manpower. Here it is not only a matter of our lack of resources or of social neglect in the countryside but of the system of management, which has locked all problems into a single vicious circle. This must be broken by returning the peasant master to the land, and with forms of management and ownership which he himself wants to have and which economic expediency will suggest to him. But for now....

Now it is necessary to get through the winter and work both for today's needs and to restore common sense to the whole economic system. There is no other way.

Scientific

Mir Cosmonauts' Attempts To Repair Hatch Detailed

PM0111141190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Report by P. Orlov, A. Kudeli; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Last night cosmonauts Gennadiy Manakov and Gennadiy Strekalov carried out a spacewalk.

[Kudeli] Ensuring a reliable fit between the hatch cover and the body of the Kvant-2 module—this is how the objective of the task entrusted to Manakov and Strekalov was specified in the final report. Would you believe someone who told you that he was flying to Sochi only in order to travel on an airliner? Of course, not. The same applies here. Naturally, what they wanted to do was to completely repair this unique one-meter hatch. Now this will have to wait until next time. It is not that the crew were lacking in skill. In two hours and 45 minutes they did what they could. But the damage proved much more serious than was thought.

Why is such a determined assault being mounted on this intractable hatch by the second crew in succession? How important is it for our space plans?

[Orlov] The point is that without this hatch, this one-meter hatch, the further development of the station, the buildup of its solar batteries, and the installation of new specialist equipment in outer space is simply impossible.

Even this [video shows model of Mir space station] is not the final version of the Mir complex. It must be developed further. To smelt crystals and conduct increasingly complex scientific research, it must be further expanded. Only then will it be truly efficient. It is annoying that we are having to begin construction with repairs.

World Scientific Research Flight Planned

LD0111173290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 1 Nov 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Summary] Soviet military pilots will fly an AN-124 aircraft around the world via the two poles. Two of these aircraft will test a complex of search and rescue operations. Leaders of the Ecological International Movement will take part in an attempt to prevent expansion of the earth's ozone hole. O.S. Khabarov, chairman of the Monosphere Association, notes that the expedition will visit Australia, where it will advertise an installation to generate ozone at heights up to 40-45 km, which could be manufactured by Soviet military enterprises, to stabilize the ozone layer at such heights.

The expedition will attempt to establish seven world records. It will set off from Melbourne during the first few days of November. The sponsor, a firm owned by an Australian businessman will provide all materials and equipment for the flight, including computer, medical, and radio equipment. It will carry one journalist, Vremya special correspondent Leonid Kushnarenko. Total distance flown will be 47,100 km; flying time, 63 hours; total time, 72 hours.

Military

Troop Rehearsals for Red Square Parade Reported

PM0111151990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Report by correspondents I. Novikov and I. Kutub-zade in Khodynskoye Pole; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Preparations of units and subunits that are to take part in the upcoming military parade in Moscow are drawing to a close.

[Correspondent] Khodynskoye Pole is humming with activity day and night in preparation for the upcoming parade. Tank and missile troops, motorized riflemen, and naval personnel—almost 8,500 servicemen—are gathered here. They have all worked very hard, and although everything is ready for the ceremonial march-past, they are checking and rechecking their combat vehicles. Everyone is trying to be even better prepared. Millions of people will watch the parade details. Colonel General N.V. Kalinin, commander of the troops of the Order of Lenin Moscow Military District, is to command the parade.

What are the distinctive features of this parade?

[Kalinin] Compared with previous parades, this parade will include some new hardware, including strategic forces.

[Correspondent] What missiles?

[Kalinin] Continental missiles. The parade is ready, both the foot columns and the mechanized columns. Today and in the remaining days we will be adding finishing touches to all the elements. We have had a night training session on Red Square. It went alright. And I can say with confidence that the parade is ready for the holiday.

[Correspondent] The upcoming military parade will be a celebration of the national holiday, a symbol of the historical continuity and respect for popular traditions.

Leningrad Troops Not for Offensive Operations

PM0211120590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Oct 90 First Edition p 6

[INTERFAX report: "The General Can Be Believed"]

[Text] Leningrad—Colonel General Samsonov, commander of the Leningrad Military District, has stated at a meeting with representatives of the mass media that the district "no longer has any troops intended for offensive operations." The tank regiments have been eliminated and the number of guns in each artillery battery reduced.

Space Unit Political Officers Discuss Reform

PM0211093190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Oct 90 First Edition p 1

["Our Correspondent" report: "In the Context of Military Reform"]

[Text] Problems of reforming party political structures within the USSR Armed Forces and the ensuing tasks of executing the USSR president's decree of 8 September were on the agenda at a meeting of political department chiefs and ideological officials from Defense Ministry space units. Lieutenant General I. Kurinnyy, member of the Military Council and chief of the Space Units Political Directorate, delivered the keynote report. Colonel General V. Ivanov, chief of space units, set out ways of renewing these structures within the overall context of military reform.

Col. Gen. G. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate and chief of the Ideological Work Directorate; and Major General A. Gorbachev, chief of the Main Political Directorate Organizational Party Work Directorate, took part in the meeting's work.

Political personnel had fruitful meetings with G. Tarazevich, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; V. Mironenko, first deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; and representatives of science, culture, and the creative intelligentsia.

Col. Gen. N. Shlyaga, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, addressed the meeting.

NOVOSTI Writer on Decrees Affecting Soviet Army

AU3010181390 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 24 Oct 90 p 3

[Valeriy Pogrebenkov NOVOSTI article "specially for POLSKA ZBROJNA": "The USSR President's Decrees and Army Restructuring"]

[Text] Two of the decrees issued by President Mikhail Gorbachev concern the Army. Let us consider them.

It would seem that each of them concerns a separate sphere—one on reforms to political bodies, and one on providing greater social security and legal protection for military people. Yet the purpose of both decrees is to stabilize the human factor in the Army, and hence in society.

I feel that the president's decree on reforms to political bodies is merely the first step toward reducing the Army's ideologization. It is necessary to reorganize the Main Political Directorates of the Soviet Army and Navy, which currently exist according to rules issued by a CPSU Central Committee department, and create a single Main Military-Political Directorate of the Ministry of National Defense. The next step calls for reorganizing the V. Lenin Political-Military Academy and 11 other military-political schools, whereby the number of these latter schools will probably be reduced. Particular attention will be paid to the training of instructors, teachers, psychologists, and sociologists. In the final stage, military political bodies will be reorganized, some of which will also be closed down.

The president's decree says nothing about the work of CPSU and Komsomol organizations in the Soviet Army and Navy, but the draft presented by the Main Political Directorate calls for the creation of elected CPSU structures ranging from regimental party committees right up to a party committee covering the entire Army. Because every fourth military man belongs to the CPSU, the

CPSU will continue to enjoy a monopoly, as USSR National Defense Minister Marshal Dmitriy Yazov said recently.

In that case, what about the presence of other parties in the Army? Lieutenant-General Yevgeniy Popov from the Main Political Directorate thinks that this question is premature. Before other parties can be given access to the Army and Navy, it is necessary to create a legal basis for this, in other words a law on parties. Major Vladimir Lopatin, people's deputy in the USSR Supreme Soviet, says that unless the Army is depoliticized and departified, it may turn into a debating society for various parties, which would seriously destabilize the Armed Forces and have a negative effect on the country's security.

According to a survey carried out by Colonel Leonid Fadeyev, the military sociologist, 84.4 percent of the Soviet Army is in favor of depoliticization and departification. However, some military men believe that a ban on belonging to a party (it is only the CPSU that is involved here) would be a violation of human rights.

So the question of party membership in the Army has not been resolved. As far as social security is concerned, the situation is clearer. There is simply no social security, period. For instance, what can one say about the legal status of servicemen if some Soviet republics forbid them to vote in an election, register with the police, apply for housing, etc.? In 48 officer families out of 100, the monthly per capita income does not exceed 100 roubles, which, at a time of price hikes and inflation, leads to poverty.

"Non-combat losses" in the Armed Forces,and in peacetime as well, are a particular concern inside the Army and society. The USSR General Staff does not reveal its figures, claiming them to be secret, but at the same time it rejects the figures published in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. This newspaper has said that 15,000 men lost their lives over a period of four months, the same as the number of men who died during the 10 years of war in Afghanistan. The General Staff insists that the fatal accident rate for every 1,000 military men is far less than the national average. Lieutenant-General Vyacheslav Yermin, a Ministry of National Defense representative, has said that of the total number of fatalities in any year, one percent consists of murders of junior soldiers by senior soldiers, 24 percent consists of unforeseeable accidents, 21 percent consists of accidents caused by violations of safety rules, and 13.5 percent consists of fatalities caused by army vehicles. The fact that in 1990 every fourth fatality in the Army was a case of suicide is disturbing.

It is also difficult to come to terms with the "combat" losses suffered by the Army while controlling nationality conflicts. Military men have no personal protection. Last year, extremists and criminals killed 59 officers. This year they have already killed 712 and wounded 153.

For the first time in the history of the country and Army, the USSR president's decree calls for compulsory social insurance for military personnel out of Ministry of National Defense funds. The exact sum insured is currently being considered by experts. Nevertheless, the recently established Committee of Mothers of Soldiers would like this sum to be equal to 50 times the average salary in the country.

The decree also foresees the right of every soldier to complain to a military tribunal about any unlawful action by an official or administrative body, which means that a soldier will be able to take someone to court if he feels he has been wronged, just like any USSR citizen. He may sue his immediate superior, and even the defense minister himself. Every single year, the prosecutor's offices examine over 7,000 unlawful orders issued by commanders.

The presidential decree also calls for the creation of special groups offering legal and social protection for military personnel. Legal advisers are already being appointed in military units.

Between 4 and 4.5 billion roubles are spent on the comprehensive Armed Forces development program every year. The presidential decrees are meant to protect the rights of people in uniform, and raise their social prestige. Great hopes for major changes to the social and legal situation of military personnel and to the Armed Forces are being pinned to the decrees. These hopes may only be fulfilled when a fail-safe mechanism for implementing the reforms is established.

Defense Ministry Opens Public Inquiry Desk

LD0111141690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] A public inquiry desk of the USSR Ministry of Defense began its work today at the Central House of the Soviet Army named after Frunze. Parents whose sons are serving in the Army have become its first customers. Similar inquiry desks are to be opened at military district and naval officers' houses and in other regions of the country. Here one can meet the representatives of the command, military commissariats, rear services, and military lawyers and receive true information on service in the Army and the Navy, on the rights of servicemen, and on the privileges envisioned by the legislation currently in force. This is not all the work, however; its tasks are broader: To conduct active dialogue with the public and to ensure true glasnost on the issues of Army service. The public inquiry desk at the Central House of the Soviet Army is open from 1000 to 1900 on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

Army Hunger Striker To Be Disciplined

PM0111163990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Oct 90 First Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Kovalev: "Lieutenant in the Square"]

[Text] "I, Lieutenant V. Sokolov, serving in unit... am going on hunger strike to protest the command's refusal to discharge me from the Armed Forces...."

That was the banner carried into the central square of Chita 22 October by this officer, who sat down on a folding chair and started his hunger strike with a determined look on his face.

Your correspondent, upon learning of this action, rushed to the square and indeed saw the lieutenant, dressed in winter field uniform, and a crowd of spectators around him. "They have driven him to this," a soft-hearted old man was heard to say.

I admit that initially I too thought that the officer had probably been forced into this desperate step by some extraordinary circumstances. Edging my way through the dense circle of onlookers I asked Sokolov to explain why he had resorted to this extreme form of protest.

"I want to be discharged form the Army. I believe that I have made a mistake in my choice of profession," he said. "The Army gives me no chance to make full use of my abilities. I tried to enter a military academy this year, but without success. That is why I submitted my resignation through channels. Lieutenant Colonel Petrovskiy, my unit commander, signed the application, but the higher command did not accept it."

As we talked it transpired that there was no other reason for Vladimir Sokolov to take to the city square. Two years ago he graduated from higher military college with an engineering diploma and has been serving at a communications center as a shift chief. He has a well-appointed apartment in the city. He has never been placed on report because of his work.

During our conversation unit commander Lt. Col. Petrovskiy arrived in the square and tried to persuade Sokolov not to shame the Army. But without success. Then local commercial TV turned up along with a journalist and photographer from the Chita youth newspaper.... The interviews and pictures merely bolstered Sokolov's "courage"....

When I arrived in the square next morning Sokolov was no longer there. In order to clarify the situation I phoned the unit's political department. Lieutenant Colonel V. Yerokhin told me that the previous evening they had succeeded in persuading the "hunger striker" to call off his rash action. He returned to the unit of his own free will and was back at work the next day. Lt. Sokolov will face an honor court of his young peers and an official punishment for actions that brought servicemen into disrepute.

Here is how the military prosecutor's office commented on this story:

"The officer's actions were interpreted as criminal under Article 149 of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Criminal Code—avoiding military service," I was told by Colonel of Justice A. Ponomarenko, the military prosecutor. "In this connection I have instructed my deputy, Lieutenant Colonel Kochergin, to carry out a prosecutor's investigation. A decision will be made on the basis of its results. Given that this is not the first time that Sokolov has gone on hunger strike in the unit or failed to show up for duty, it is not ruled out that a criminal case could be instituted against him and that he could be convicted. But, I repeat, we will make our final decision after the prosecutor's investigation is complete."

...What is there to add? The following point. While stating his right to choose his profession, a serviceman—much less an officer—cannot and should not forget his duty to carry out his constitutional duty, the military oath, the fact that he has freely chosen the profession of officer, and that the state has spent thousands of rubles of the people's money on his training.

Baltic Republics

Lithuanian Political Consultations Held in Prague

LD0211072590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Under an accord reached during negotiations between Prime Minister Calfa of Czechoslovakia and Kazimiera Prunskiene, chairman of the Lithuanian government, Czechoslovak-Lithuanian consultations have taken place in Prague. The sides exchanged information on internal political developments in both republics and also discussed questions of bilateral cooperation.

Klaipeda Authorities' Actions Spark Anxiety

PM0111164190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Oct 90 First Edition p 4

[Article by Captain Second Class V. Gromak under the rubric "Lithuania: The Political Situation": "The View From Klaipeda"]

[Text] Klaipeda is a clean and pleasant place, one of the most beautiful towns in Lithuania. I have many friends, both Russians and Lithuanians, there. When meeting with them recently they often asked: "Will Klaipeda remain Soviet?" The heated debates and discussions about insignia, migration and migrants, language, and citizenship have now replaced economic questions at the center of everyone's attention.

And the economic indicators are, unfortunately, far from comforting for Klaipeda's people. For example, in the first 6 months of this year the city's industrial enterprises fulfilled just 96.6 percent of the contractual commitments for output supply. The shortfall in contract supplies was worth 16.5 million rubles [R]. Compared with last year, output was down by 9.6 percent. The consumer goods production plan was only 96.7 percent fulfilled and food production was down by R16.6 million. Labor productivity fell 7.2 percent in comparison with last year.

The negative phenomena in the city's economy are leading to a decline in the working people's living standard. Market prices, which the city's newspaper reports from time to time, are as follows: A black velour coat with a llama fur collar costs R2,500, a two-room cooperative apartment costs R45,000-R50,000. Lieutenant Colonel O. Samuylin, who is serving in Klaipeda, said that someone in Klaipeda sold an unfinished house for R280,000. And I believed him because I have seen with my own eyes how the roof of one house was covered with... pure sheet copper.

But there is little talk of that in Klaipeda at the moment. People are keenly discussing a different matter. "If the Sajudis program is to be implemented in the shortest possible time, it is necessary to finally move from politicking to concrete actions," the city newspaper KLAIPEDA writes. In this instance, concrete means unlawful. One such action is the decision of the city authorities to dismantle monuments. The Sajudis members put their anti-Soviet position and acts of vandalism down to the "humiliation" of and repressions against the Lithuanian people by Stalin. But how can vandalism against a memorial to the dead or the monument to V.I. Lenin, from whose hands Lithuania received recognition of state independence in 1920, be attributed to Stalinism? Have the city authorities moved far from the Stalinist school of dictatorship, arrogance, contempt for the people and their historical and cultural values when their policy disregards the opinion of 37 percent of the city's population who speak Russian?

"Who will defend our interests," Colonel I. Volyanovskiy said to me, "if there are only Lithuanians on the city soviet..."

P. Barovskiy, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) city committee, explained:

"The law on elections of Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] local soviet deputies, which was published in Russian and Lithuanian, contained a number of significant variations which influenced the result of the elections to the city soviet and its legal status. The Russian version of the text of the law says that "a candidate deputy shall be considered elected if he has received more than half of the votes of the electors on the electoral roll of a given district..." The corresponding section and article of the law in its Lithuanian version says that "a candidate deputy shall be considered elected if he has received more than half of the votes cast in an election." Elections to the Klaipeda City Soviet were held in 75 districts. At present 58 deputies have been elected to the city soviet on the basis of the "Lithuanian text" of the law. Whereas only five deputies have in fact been elected according to the Russian text of the law. We have protested but nothing has changed yet."

For my own part I would add that according to the norms of international law, a law which contains variant readings is invalid and consequently the elections are also invalid.

"Some 90 percent of electoral districts were formed in such a way," Pavel Danilovich continued, "that Lithuanians constitute the overwhelming majority in percentage terms in all but three of the 75 districts. During the election campaign process, parliaments prefer not to change the election law. But the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet changed a number of norms of the law so as to make them fit the pattern which suited the separatist nationalist circles..."

What was the first action of the new city soviet, which promised its electors all kinds of goodies? At meetings with electors, V. Cjapas, present chairman of the city soviet, fulminated mercilessly against former apparatus members and staffers of state and party organs: They, the former and the latter, he said, have lost all modesty, they are paid incredible salaries. Meanwhile Cjapas himself calmly puts himself down on the payroll with the figure

750 [rubles] against his name. Not to mention his "deputy's" allowance... P. Vasiljauskas, the city mayor, is quite happy, too, because he receives the same amount. The deputies receive only a little less—R650 each. Apparatus members in years gone by could only dream about salaries like those.

Consistently and at all levels the city soviet talks about Klaipeda as the jewel of Lithuania. But when you take a close look at pages from its not so distant history, you begin to see the point of the actions of both the Lithuanian Government and the Klaipeda city authorities. After all, it was the Lithuanian bourgeoisie who, taking advantage of the German occupation, signed at the end of 1917 a declaration on union with the German Empire, and in summer 1918 Lithuania was proclaimed a monarchy headed by the German Prince Ulrich. In 1939 Smetona meekly surrendered (or returned) Klaipeda to his friend Hitler. In 1940, Smetona, detested by the people, fled from Lithuania. And not to just anywhere but to fascist Germany.

In 1941, the father of V. Landsbergis, the present Lithuanian leader, received the Hitlerite occupation forces with hospitality and words of welcome. "And now the successors to the 'old guard' in Lithuania," Kaliningrad resident M. Khmylin writes to LITVA SOVETSKAYA, "are screaming about the Klaipeda region as Lithuanian territory from time immemorial which... was occupied by the Soviet Army."

Those coming in for the worst treatment are the military. The nationalists and those people intoxicated by promises of a bourgeois paradise have been resorting to a simplistic set of propaganda phrases in their descriptions of the Klaipeda garrison's units: "occupiers," "independence snatchers," "invaders—get out of Klaipeda," and "Russian swine." There are no specific allegations here. The Sajudis ideologists have worked hard to produce a distorted version of history.

But you cannot hide from the truth. Even Juozas Urbsis, former foreign minister in bourgeois Lithuania, who has absolutely no reason to like the USSR or Soviet power (he spent 13 years in jail in Tambov, where his wife was incarcerated, too) attests: "Various falsifications on the theme of the 'brutal annexation of Lithuania by the Soviets' are multiplying extraordinarily quickly nowadays. There is talk of mass shootings and about people being crushed by tanks... Yes, there were tanks. Thousands of Lithuanians were woken one morning by the roar of the engines. But there was no bloodshed. The Soviet soldiers were greeted with flowers and hospitality. Soviet soldiers went to their quarters and people simply forgot that they were there."

Does that mean that the policy of the Klaipeda city authorities is just nonsense?

"No, it is a consistent line of conduct," Lieutenant Colonel V. Goncharov, deputy chief of Klaipeda garrison's political department, said, "it is a conscious distortion of historical truth."

To exert moral pressure on servicemen and members of their families in Klaipeda they are trying to create the kind of conditions which will force them to leave Lithuania. Members of servicemen's families are being refused housing (in the past two years the city has not allocated a single apartment to the "Klaipeda" Checkpoint unit and are not even being given temporary residence permits. And thus they are being deprived of ration cards for food and manufactured goods, medical services, and the opportunity of finding kindergarten places for their children. Often people are insulted on the street and in public transport. Some officers cannot take it. In the past two years alone, one officer in five has retired into the reserve from the navy's shore defense division...

Meanwhile it can hardly be said that the city authorities have stopped turning to the military for help. In the past six months alone sappers from the local garrison have risked their lives several times to disarm deadly "presents" left by the fascists in the waters of the Klaipeda port and on land. Lieutenant Colonel A. Mikhalkov, chief of the checkpoint political department, told me that representatives of the city authorities often come to him for consultations, all kinds of advice, and help... And not once have the border troops refused.

...My assignment ended on the day that the second round of consultative meetings between the USSR Government and the Lithuanian republic leadership ended in Moscow. That evening, each family in Klaipeda listened attentively to N.I. Ryzhkov's report on the timetable for the beginning of talks. Klaipeda people, particularly the Russian speakers, are pinning their aspirations and hopes on the talks and are hoping that reason will prevail.

Fate of Lithuanian Gold Held Abroad Viewed

PM0211094790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Oct 90 Union Edition p 4

[Feature under the rubric "Details for IZVESTIYA" comprising Vilnius report by correspondent L. Kapelyushnyy and Paris dispatch by correspondent Yu. Kovalenko: "Fate of Lithuanian Gold"]

[Text] Vilnius—In talk today about what Lithuania gained and what it lost by once joining the Soviet Union the question of the Lithuanian gold reserve inevitably surfaces—what happened to it?

Interest in the gold reserve has recently been boosted by a sensational report: More than two tonnes of gold belonging to prewar Lithuania is being held in France. It is worth $28 million. The question of the gold's return to Lithuania was raised at the recent meeting between F. Mitterrand, French president, and V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet.

According to J. Vajsnoras, former minister of finance in the people's government, the Lithuanian gold has had a difficult fate. On 6 July 1940 Dekanozov invited J. Paknis, minister and manager of the Lithuanian Bank, to

the Soviet mission in Kaunas and put this question to him—how much gold does Lithuania have abroad? Paknis replied that Lithuania had a total of 69 million foreign currency lits in foreign banks: 27 million in Britain, 23 million in the United States, 11 million in Sweden, and 8 million in Switzerland.

The basis of Lithuania's gold reserve was a gift from the Soviet Government when in 1920 Russia, which itself was not wallowing in luxury, transferred 3 million gold rubles to Lithuania—converted into gold, this represents approximately 2,256 kg of metal. Subsequently the gold reserve grew—Lithuania was trading in butter, bacon, flax, and timber. Approximately 3 million a year was added by donations from rich Americans of Lithuanian extraction. In all, the republic had received $30 million from its compatriots—the equivalent of 300 million lits.

Dekanozov demanded that all these funds be transferred to a USSR Gosbank [State Bank] account. The point is that the manager of the Lithuanian Bank was personally responsible for the stability of the lit, and he alone could dispose of the gold which ensured that stability. Dekanozov proceeded from persuasion to threats, but J. Paknis did not give in.

The only thing you can do, he said, is to appoint a new manager who will countermand my signature in the banks and sign an order to transfer the gold to the USSR Gosbank, although I do not doubt that that decision will blocked by bankers.

The next day the resignation of Bank Manager J. Paknis was accepted. The new manager signed the necessary papers. A few days later a reply was received from the banks in London and New York that the gold was being blocked. Thus, the fate of 50 million gold lits was decided. However, Stockholm and Bern, where the Lithuanian Bank's deposits were more modest, soon transferred 19 million lits to the USSR.

In 1940 the convertible lit was backed up by 0.150462 grams of pure gold. If you calculate it, the USSR treasury should have received more than 2,858 kg of the noble metal. That was considerably more than Russia once presented to Lithuania "to set up home..."

But how did the gold end up in France? Are 27 million lits still being held in Britain and 23 million in the United States? I did not find the answer to these questions in Lithuania.

Yuriy Kovalenko, IZVESTIYA's own correspondent in Paris, comments on this report:

"The Banque de France will return to Lithuania the 2,200 kg of gold which that country entrusted to it on the eve of the signing of the German-Soviet pact 23 August 1939. The bank has always fulfilled its commitments and will return this gold to the Lithuanian authorities which will be recognized by the French Government." This reply by the Banque de France to a question from the newspaper LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS has provoked numerous commentaries here and given rise to new questions.

The Paris press is voicing various suppositions in this regard, and the situation as a whole appears extremely confused from the political and legal viewpoints. To clarify the situation I turned for assistance to Alain Tiro [surname as transliterated], director of the information service of the Banque de France.

"We are indeed keeping 2,200 kg of gold which was transferred to us by the Central Bank of Lithuania on the eve of the war, as well as 1,000 kg which came from Latvia," Alain Tiro said. "However, we have not yet received any official requests either from Lithuania or from Latvia. This is a problem on two levels—political-diplomatic and juridical. In my view it must be resolved, above all, at the level of the Foreign Ministry, which must determine just who is the legitimate representative of Lithuania. Naturally, we will not be able to do this. For our part, our juridical services must establish whether those who might ask us to return the gold are the legitimate successors to the Central Bank of Lithuania.

"We are not interfering in the Soviet Union's internal affairs," A. Tiro continued, "and we do not have the right to give the Lithuanians any advice or recommendations. In the past your country asked us through Foreign Ministry channels to return the gold which we hold, but we did not consider that request. I will remind you that France has never recognized Lithuania's joining the USSR.

"We are ready to return the gold to those who transferred it to us," A. Tiro pointed out in conclusion, "and this is our principled position. It is absolutely essential to do this so that our bank does not forfeit trust. But this is a very lengthy procedure, and what we need first is complete clarity."

Lithuanian Criminal Code Changes Published

PM0211122990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Nov 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by unidentified correspondent under the "Topical" rubric: "Right up to Shooting"]

[Text] Vilnius—The death penalty—by shooting—is introduced by the Lithuanian law "on the introduction of changes and additions to the Lithuanian republic's criminal code," which entered into force on the last day of October. The court can replace this punishment by life imprisonment.

Punishment in the form of imprisonment for 10 to 15 years with the confiscation of property or the death penalty with the confiscation of property is envisaged in particular for state treason. These are the words used to describe "the deliberate participation of a citizen of the Lithuanian republic in the activity of another state or foreign organization aimed at violating the sovereignty

of the Lithuanian republic or its territorial inviolability and defense capability or the violent overthrow of state power based on the provisional Fundamental Law (constitution) of the Lithuanian republic." It is true that if a "suborned" citizen carries out no actions and voluntarily informs the Lithuanian republic's organs of power of his link with foreign organs or organizations, he will be relieved of any criminal responsibility.

The new law provides for a number of punishments for espionage and an attempt on the life of a Supreme Soviet deputy, member of government, or other official of the Lithuanian republic or on the life of a representative of a foreign state, for subversion, for public calls for the violent violation of the Lithuanian republic's sovereignty, for banditry, smuggling, and so forth. For instance, the creation of organizations seeking to violate state or public order based on the provisional Fundamental Law (constitution) of the Lithuanian republic, to restrict the sovereign rights of the Lithuanian state, or to forcibly separate part of the territory of the Lithuanian republic, and active participation in the activity of these organizations is punished by a prison term of three to eight years or a fine of 5,000 to 20,000 rubles.

So there you are...

Latvian Premier Meets Enterprise Directors

LD3110224290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1400 GMT 31 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Zaytsev]

[Text] Riga, 31 Oct (TASS)—The Latvian Government is not ready for the transition to the market, and cannot offer any acceptable soltuions. It is possible to come to such a conclusion, looking at the results of a meeting held between Ivar Godmanis, Latvian prime minister, members of the republican government, and directors of works and factories.

The absolute majority of Latvian enterprises will not have a guaranteed supply of centralized raw materials deliveries next year. This has been caused by the fact that Latvia's planning bodies did not accept a state order for the production of goods. That is why the decision of the USSR Council of Ministers on the transformation of state Union enterprises, associations, and organizations on the Latvian territory into joint-stock societies has rescued a lot of labor collectives. According to this document, labor collectives will receive 51 percent of the all-Union property, and enterprises will be provided with material and technical resources distributed in the centralized manner. It is very important for Latvia, if we take account of the fact that about two thirds of the whole volume of the republic's industrial output is being produced by the Union enterprises themselves.

However, the Latvian Supreme Soviet declared that everything which is situated on the territory of the republic is republican property, and considered the decision of the Union government as the one without any legal force. when the republican legislature turned down the suggestion concerning the privitization of the state property, put forward by Prime Minister Godmanis, it was decided to declare a moratorium on the processes of privitization, including the setting up of joint-stock societies.

This position of the legislature and the government caused a negative reaction by the directors of enterprises. Many of the speakers stressed that one should not mix economics and politics. In the draft legislations that are being discussed in the republican parliament, the priority right in the aquisition of property and forming of joint-stock companies 'belongs first of all to the natives of the Latvian Republic.' And the law on citizenship has not yet been adopted.

The majority of the directors supported the opinion of Sergey Dimanis, economist and leader of the legislative minority. He thinks that either a decision on the question of citizenship should be made in the soonest possible time, so that the perspective will be clear to all, or it should be said that the republic exists under conditions of the transition period and that the question of citizenship is to be suspended during this time. The process of privatization should be continued even now.

Latvian Daily Warns Against 'Angering' Military

LD0211095490 Moscow TASS in English 0835 GMT 2 Nov 90

[By TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga November 2 TASS—Fourteen armed assaults on Soviet Army posts, convoys and units have been reported in the three Baltic republics this year. There has been a similar number of cases of unarmed harassment.

One serviceman has been killed and six others wounded as a result, the UTRO YURMALY newspaper reported on Thursday. In Lithuania, a total of 18 people—serviceman and their dependents- - were wounded, in Latvia—11, in Estonia - 5.

Stressing that violence is directed not only against people wearing the Soviet Army uniform but also against members of their families, the newspaper recalls that on July 27, a group of young men in Lithuania stoned the eight-year daughter of a Soviet Army major. The resulting skull trauma was very grave.

Another form of pressure, the newspaper says, is imposing a kind of economic blockade. An Air Force deployment near Saldus and a helicopter regiment outside Yelgava were penalised in this way.

Electricity, water and food supplies, including bread, have been cut off and contracts to launder linen have been cancelled abruptly.

Recently, local authorities informed some army units that from January 1, 1991, no more allocations were

envisaged for teaching children of "occupants" in local schools. The Army unit deployed in Lielvarda has received a bill for more than 163,000 roubles, while the military stationed in the Madona district have been told to pay 68,000.

There is no legal ground for these demands, as neither the republican parliaments nor the governments adopted resolutions on the matter.

The newspaper warns that anti-Army actions may result in angering the military, which will probably lead to unfortunate results.

Estonia Denies Selling Grain to Israel

LD0111162190 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1500 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] The Nadezhda pirate radio station interrupted its broadcasting to replay a telephone call from Yevgeniy Kogan, a leading Intermovement activist from Moscow. Kogan claimed that instead of feeding their own people, relevant departments in the Republic of Estonia speculate in grain by buying it up in several areas of the USSR and selling it to Israel for hard currency. Yevgeniy Kogan even specified—making a reference to IZVESTIYA published in Moscow—that talk is of 60,000 tonnes of cereals. Mati Allas, chief director of the Estonian Cereals Board stated that Nadezhda has come out with a provocation; there has been no sale or negotiation with abroad. Likewise the Estonian Foreign Trade Board is not aware of such a deal.

What is left is to express regret that REUTER, which is known as a respectable news agency, has allowed itself to be led astray. The news published in the IZVESTIYA carried this agency's imprint.

Commander Insists Tallinn Parade 'Will Be Held'

PM0111165790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Oct 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent V. Ivanov under the "Direct Line" rubric: "The USSR President's Decree Will Be Fulfilled"]

[Text] Tallinn—The Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium has said that it does not consider it possible to apply the USSR president's decree on holding a military parade to mark the 73d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Will there be a military parade in Tallinn? I put this question to Vice Admiral Yuriy Pavlovich Belov, chief of Tallinn Garrison:

This is a holiday that has become an organic part of the life of many generations. This holiday has become a national tradition as the birthday of our multiethnic state. We think that the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium statement was adopted without considering the opinion of the different nationalities living in Tallinn and Army and Navy servicemen serving here. The statement's claim that our subunits in Tallinn are occupiers also rouses a sense of protest. This does not only sound offensive but also conflicts with common sense and the true state of affairs. We are not faced with the question of whether to hold the parade or not. It will be held. The regular practices are currently under way to prepare for it.

Estonian Committee Protests 7 Nov Celebrations

LD0211114890 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 0700 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] The content of the Estonian Committee's political resolution adopted at its first meeting is summarized in today's edition of PAEVALEHT as follows: It does not trust the government nor suport it but does not vote for no confidence either. As a result of the lengthy debate, what began as fairly pointed, diverse opinions acquired a positive character inviting cooperation on the resolution.

A new board of the Estonian Committee was also elected and a brief protest was sent to the USSR president, who was recentdly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, regarding the planned 7 November celebrations in the Baltic state capitals.

The Estonian Congress has serious financial problems. It has been decided to ask the government for 2 million rubles to keep pace with politics more successfully. And that, by the way, is the same government whose activity [the Estonian Congress and Committee] keep criticizing. It may turn out to be expensive for the Estonian people to maintain the two representative bodies. This is what PAEVALEHT thinks.

Estonia To Consider Monetary Reform in Nov

LD0211105290 Moscow TASS in English 1032 GMT 2 Nov 90

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn November 2 TASS—A project to carry out a monetary reform in Estonia has been delivered to Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar, the Estonian Government's press service announced.

The project, which is authored by government Counsellor Bo Cragh, a citizen of Sweden, will be considered at a joint meeting of the government and the Bank of Estonia in the first half of November.

RSFSR

Coverage of RSFSR Supreme Soviet Proceedings

Lively Constitutional Debate Noted

LD0111205490 Moscow TASS in English 1914 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Report by TASS legislative correspondents Lev Aksenov, Yuriy Kozmin and Pavel Ostrov]

[Text] Moscow, November 1 TASS—The Russian parliament today discussed at separate sittings of its cham-

bers the draft Russian constitution and the draft federal treaty.

Deputy Oleg Rumyantsev, secretary of the constitutional commission, described the draft fundamental law as a platform of democracy, which could become the basis for the consolidation of society. He briefly told the chamber of the republic of the work of the commission, formed by the first congress of republican people's deputies, and outlined the basic principles of the draft.

The draft constitution contains many principally new elements for the country's legislative practice. The draft is de-ideologised. It proclaims the separation of the legislative, executive and judiciary and envisages the introduction of an executive presidency. It describes private property as an "inalienable natural right."

The debate on the draft was very lively, although deputies tried to stick to parliamentary ethics. Opposing assessments of the document were voiced. Some deputies suggested that the constitutional working group be disbanded. Others fully approved of its work.

Some deputies said the draft meant a "burial of the Soviet power" and legalised exploitation of man by man. The discussion has begun the parliamentary stage of the constitutional process in the republic, and the first day has shown that the process will not be easy. The Chamber of the Republic failed to take the decision and suggested that the work be continued.

The Chamber of Nationalities today discussed the future of multinational Russia and its foundations outlined in the draft federal treaty.

The draft proclaims that the Russian Federation consists of "voluntarily united subjects." The federation's territory and its outer borders can be changed only on the agreement between its subjects. All citizens are guaranteed equal rights and freedoms. A unified currency, financial, customs and money systems should function on the federation's territory.

The discussion has shown that some deputies doubt the need to adopt the document. Finally, a constructive opinion prevailed. The chamber decided to elaborate the document and submit it for the consideration of the parliament presidium. An alternative document should be also prepared—the draft declaration on the national and state system of the Russian Federation.

On Friday, deputies are expected to work in committees and commissions. After that a short vacation will begin until November 12.

Silayev Interviewed on RSFSR 500 Days Program

LD0111212190

[Editorial report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1915 GMT on 1 November carries a 13-minute studio interview with Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev by I. Minayev.

In response to Minayev's statement that the 500 days program appears to have been made obsolete, Silayev says the current Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) economic program includes only part of what is contained in the 500 days program. In particular he says that what was originally projected for the first 100 days of the 500 days program is not included in the current plan. The primary reforms outlined in the Shatalin and Yavlinskiy program will be implemented, Silayev says.

Silayev says Yavlinskiy remains deputy chairman of the Committee for Reform, and he is currently working on a detailed program to implement reform.

Asked if the RSFSR is following a course aimed at establishing a coalition government, Silayev says there must be a procedure to delegate republic functions to central bodies on a voluntary basis, as well as a procedure for the active participation of the republics in Union bodies. If these are implemented, Silayev says, it means a coalition government. Therefore principles for establishing a Union government need to be reformulated, and they should include the fact that governments should be set up on a coalition basis.

Asked if the RSFSR can accurately be termed economically independent, Silayev says economic autonomy is impossible as long as centralized monetary and resource systems exist. He favors an economic alliance of economically independent republics. Calls for coalition must be bilateral and the RSFSR's sovereignty must be respected.

Asked about plans to establish a federal committee, Silayev says it will provide for permanent contact and interaction between the republics.

Silayev says that economic sovereignty is essential and that interaction and mutual understanding between the RSFSR and the other republics are necessary. A permanent body representing all republics needs to be set up to supervise these contacts. A federal committee would be such a body.

Russian Social Development Fund Established

LD0211111390 Moscow TASS in English 1007 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed on Thursday a resolution establishing a fund for Russia's social development. The fund will be called "Revival".

Noting the extremely grave situation that threatens to disrupt the implementation of social programmes intended to meet vital needs of Russian citizens, the resolution stresses the need to form an effective mechanism to implement Russia's social programmes.

A self-governing organisation, the fund will enter mutually beneficial relations with Soviet enterprises and organisations and foreign investors and partners to establish a finance and trading company, a production and economic association and an international bank in order to develop, with their assistance, production, agro-industrial and commercial structures.

With no allocations from the state, the fund will rely on money it will raise through financial, commercial and charitable activities. It will prepare and implement an extensive plan of social measures to effectively help citizens affected by natural calamities, disasters and inter-ethnic conflicts.

It will contribute on a regular basis to the solution of the housing, health, ecological and transport problems, and the creation of the industry producing baby food and other essentials.

The fund will act as a patron and supplier of effective material and technical assistance to homes for the handicapped and the elderly and children's homes and boarding-schools.

Plans are being drawn up to restore Russia's churches and historical monuments and help revive national culture, science and education, as well as popular crafts.

Citizens, enterprises, firms, offices, public and religious associations from the Russian Federation, other Soviet republics and foreign countries and international organisations can contribute, on a voluntary bases, to the accomplishment of the fund's tasks.

RSFSR Republic, Nationalities Councils Meet

LD0211003990

Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1930 GMT on 1 November begins a 30-minute report on the 1 November sessions of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Council of the Republic and the RSFSR Council of Nationalities.

As deputies register, Oleg Rumyantsev moves to the rostrum and says the purpose of today's discussion is not to vote or reach conclusions but to consult on the draft constitution which was adopted as a working basis by the plenary session of the constitutional commission on 12 October. Discussion of the draft by commissions is substantive and is yielding fruit, Rumyantsev says.

Rumyantsev adds that what is in prospect is a democratic platform to help unify society,. Society needs to reach reconciliation on the basis of a democratic platform. It is also necessary to put the RSFSR on the path toward a civilized society, he says. A constitution needs to be adopted as soon as possible because people are frustrated.

Deputy Sokolov asks Rumyantsev about the participation of the Democratic Russia movement in drafting the constitution. Rumyantsev says that Deputy Babulin took part in drawing up the draft constitution. The session's chairman lists the deputies who wish to speak.

At 1939 GMT Deputy Ogurtsov, from a Moscow constituency, takes the floor. The old constitution is useless, he says. A new one is needed. (?Yeshunkov) takes the floor to say that the draft constitution is designed to bury socialism and Soviet power. An unidentified deputy speaks about human dignity and on the importance of respect for the family and culture. Deputy Muravyev then states that the draft constitution demonstrates a lot of common sense, although it may not be the best possible. He reminds the deputies that the constitution is just a link in a chain of many other requirements for a smoothly operating society.

Rumyantsev returns to the rostrum to defend his draft, saying the present draft is just a basis for the constitutional commission to continue its work. True discussion will follow only after the constitutional commission submits its official version to the Supreme Soviet. Thus there is no cause for alarm or dissatisfaction.

A. Gugli begins a video report on the Council of Nationalities, which is shown in session. On the agenda is an RSFSR draft federal treaty, protection of maternity, improvement of women's place in society, and childrens' food. Some deputies propose preparing a new declaration on the republic's federal system, Gugli says.

Gugli then interviews Deputy V.G. Syrovatko who says that today's session discussed the draft federal treaty. Perestroyka has entered a crucial stage and the interethnic issue is right at the center of it, he says. At present, the session is trying to prepare a draft federal treaty. Controversy focuses on the question of who can be full members of the federation.

Deputy G.S. Kazayev is interviewed next on the importance of a federal treaty. He says there are disagreements over the rights of members and the definition of full membership of the federation. If autonomous okrugs and oblasts are included, there will be one hundred full federation members, he says.

Gugli interviews T.D. Batagov on what he intends to do during the recess, then says deputies have decided more work needs to be done on the draft of the federal treaty before it is discussed again, and concludes his report.

RSFSR, Kazakh Leaders Cited on Agreement

PM0211094190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Oct 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "On a Mutual Basis"]

[Text] The governments of the Russian Federation and Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] concluded 29

October an agreement on economic cooperation for 1991 and the further development of cultural ties.

The sides arranged to complete by 1 December 1990 the conclusion of treaties and the signing of agreements and protocols on a number of areas of economic and cultural cooperation, first and foremost on mutual deliveries of the most important forms of output. It is also proposed to strengthen direct interrepublic ties in the sphere of science and technology, the construction industry and architecture, agriculture, and environmental protection.

In conditions of the continuing disintegration of vertical economic ties, the intergovernmental agreement, which comes into force on the day it is signed, will enable the level of economic cooperation to be not only maintained but also raised, I. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, stressed.

In the opinion of U. Karamanov, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, the agreement must be concluded no later than within the first six months of next year in order to achieve fully balanced economic relations between the two largest republics by 1992. In the long term the creation of joint enterprises and new production processes, and also collaboration with third countries, is envisaged.

It is planned to complete the preparation of the political part of the interrepublic treaty in early November, so that it can be signed at the highest level.

Democratic Russia Leader Discusses Group's Plans

91UN0167A Moscow VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA in Russian 20 Oct 90 p 2

[Article by Ye. Savostyanov, member of the "Democratic Russia" organizing committee, published under the rubric "Political Kaleidoscope": "Whom Does 'Democratic Russia' Unite?]

[Text] **The Constituent Congress of the 'Democratic Russia' movement opened today in Moscow.**

What caused this measure, what are its aims, and what hopes are being placed in it? What is the movement's plan? Is it not premature, or on the contrary too late, to hold this congress?

The last 18 months have seen a rapid expansion and saturation of our political spectrum. In the January-March election campaign last year the entire struggle centered on the line "the apparatus—the people."

But even the work of the First USSR Congress of People's Deputies caused confusion for those who like to evaluate things in a black-and-white manner: How can this be? A person stands on a platform and speaks out against "them," but he is not for "us." Another person may be "ours" in a way, but he votes for himself. The need is felt increasingly to expand the scale of the evaluations and to mark the places of particularly political groups on that scale.

Late last year two basic problems became priorities, namely reform of the Union arrangement and the switch to a new economic model. Neither can be incorporated into a system of double thinking. Different versions are indeed possible. It is these different versions that have split the mass of people into more or less major political groups. These groups; the general liberation of the political situation; the personal energy of individual persons who are particularly active, sometimes specially selected people; plus the work, well-organized "by someone," to create pseudodemocratic organizations, all form the foundation on which the new political parties and movements are being rapidly formed.

On the right flank this has merged into the formation of an election bloc of national-patriotic forces and the switch by the most conservative part of the Communists into the Russian Communist Party, the emergence alongside this of the socialists, and consolidation of the trade union aristocracy which has quickly changed into the garb of "defenders of the workers' interests." But it has also led to the departure of the most progressive part of the CPSU in the "Democratic Platform."

Left of center this has caused appreciable stratification. In any revolution there is a period when one part of its initiators believe that it is time to call a halt, that the continuation of confrontation may drag the people into an affair of unrestrained destruction and war against everyone, while others think that without totally crushing the previous state machine nothing will change in principle—we note that this is often associated with an inability to engage in creative labor. There are as many examples of this as you like, from the Girondins and Montagnards to the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks.

Now this demarcation on the left flank has only just begun, but it is not very difficult to guess how it will develop further, and so the upcoming "Democratic Russia" congress is designed to rally constructive forces in the ranks of the democrats and create conditions for their regular interaction and cooperation.

Today it is exceptionally important to rally all forces of the still-young Russian democracy that are ready, given a favorable confluence of circumstances, to engage in creative labor, and for the time being waive the most radical part of their program tasks in order to achieve a basic and common goal—to create guarantees for the country's conversion into a flourishing rule-of-law state—but are prepared for fierce political struggle if events unfold otherwise.

So on what basic tasks must the "Democratic Russia" movement clearly stand?

First, parties and organizations like the Russian Social Democratic Party, the Democratic Platform, the Democratic Party of Russia, the associations of voters, the

"Memorial" and "Shchit" (the alliance for social safeguards for servicemen) alliances, and certain others will little by little be transformed into an increasingly influential political force. Notwithstanding, they are still incapable in isolation of influencing either the nature of the decisions made by the legislature of Russia, the realization of those decisions, or the general development of political processes.

Thus, within the framework of "Democratic Russia" much attention must be paid to the search for spheres where the interests of the various forces in the constructive part of the democratic movement coincide, and to the organization of cooperation among these forces in order to resolve appropriate tasks.

Second, the democratic movement can become strong and influential only if due account is taken of the interests of the most diverse social groups. This will not be at all simple to do given the present almost cheerless situation in the country and that there is general agreement on the ultimate goals of perestroyka—saturating the commodity market; social safeguards; a flexible, self-regulating economy; and stable, democratic institutions of power. The dissonance is great with respect to the ways to move toward those goals.

The corresponding political parties, new trade unions, and corporate and social organizations must represent and champion the interests of the different groups. Reconciling those interests, and the everyday search for acceptable compromises on scales ranging from the city to the entire federation is one of the most important functions of the "Democratic Russia" movement.

Third, following the open demonstration—at the Constituent Congress of the Russian Communist Party and the 28th CPSU Congress—of the creative insolvency and lack of political prospects for both of the Communist Parties on the principle of "neither people nor ideas;" and the resignation from the CPSU of B. Yeltsin, G. Popov, A. Sobchak, and other popular leaders in the leftist movement, this is the question that arises: "Where will these very popular politicians go and which political formation will their supporters join?" The relatively small parties, which are distinguished by nuances perceived only by the well-versed analyst, seem for an enormous number of potentially active citizens insufficiently attractive, lacking prestige if you like, not least because of the inadequate political weight of their leaders. Incidentally, this is the secret of the successes of the Democratic Party of Russia, "Travkin's party," which has attracted a considerable number of supporters precisely because of the authoritative and brilliant figure of its leader. The glut of these parties is to some extent disorienting the rank-and-file voter and preventing his involvement in the active political process.

The emergence of people like B. Yeltsin, G. Popov, A. Sobchak, and Yu. Afanasyev at the head of a broad leftist movement would enable that movement to gather considerable strength in a short time, would alter the political situation in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], and would attract to the movement of democratic forces many new active people who have still not "been claimed by perestroyka."

Energetic propaganda and defense of the ideals of democracy also requires the creation of a system of immediate legal, deputy, and material support for local organizations and individual activists.

Fourth, replacing the earlier political-economic system must encounter active opposition from some of its former servants. Under conditions in which the democrats are not in power in by any means all parts of the country, and in which their representation in many places is hardly noticed, someone at the local level must promote realization of RSFSR Supreme Soviet and government decisions.

Fifth, the way in which events have unfolded in recent weeks testifies that the conservatives are trying to take their revenge, not on the democrats who have won victories in the elections but on the objective development of events dictated by the inevitability of the collapse of the administrative command system—their system. Let us be realists: They now have sufficient strength, associated mainly with the machine of coercion, to put the brakes on perestroyka and even turn it back. This revenge will of course be short-lived, but we must be ready for such a turn of events. It is a question not of preparing for some kind of violent action, to which the political crooks from the "Democratic Forum" are calling us, but of creating forces capable of making it clear to the conservatives what people's attitudes are toward their activity, and of assuming power after the final bankruptcy of the revanchists in politics.

The "Democratic Russia" movement also has other tasks such as an agreed policy for the elections, helping organize and develop direct horizontal economic ties, safeguarding citizens' interests, and a number of others.

In the face of total economic collapse and the threat of the uncontrollable alarm of personal impoverishment ineluctably associated with it, it is to be regretted that among the democratic authorities in the republic and in Moscow, Leningrad, and some other cities there is no mass political organization on which they could depend in trying times.

The possibility of creating such an organization was let slip during the summer. The birthday of the "Democratic Russia" mass movement may be 21 October 1990.

Popov Interrupts Japan Visit To Go to Taiwan

PM0111112990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Oct 90 Union Edition p 5

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent S. Agafonov: "Brief Visit to Taipei"]

[Text] Tokyo—Moscow City Soviet Chairman G. Popov has caused a considerable fuss by interrupting his Japanese visit for a brief trip to distant and mysterious Taipei.

It turned out that the mayor of Moscow had gone to Taiwan at the invitation of Taiwan's Chung Shing Company, which is a textile firm. According to Japanese newspapers the firm has business contacts in the USSR and, SANKEI SHIMBUN writes, even invests in the Soviet market. Despite the fact that the head of the Moscow City Soviet arrived in the Taiwanese capital on a day off, he met with the mayor of Taipei and was received by the Taiwanese foreign minister. Judging from the press report issued by a Taiwanese Foreign Ministry spokesman, the Soviet guest brought to Taipei a proposal on establishing partnership links between Moscow and Taipei and the idea of exchanging missions which could help both sides to organize business cooperation.

G. Popov himself, speaking at the Tokyo Foreign Correspondents' Club, explained his sudden visit to Taiwan by citing exclusively economic considerations and, in particular, a desire to find financial sources for a series of measures to improve the economic situation in the capital.

Comments on Taiwan Trip

OW0111201390 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 1 Nov 90

[From the "News About China" program]

[Text] Gavriil Popov, chairman of the Moscow City Soviet, said that Soviet-Chinese relations will not be complicated by his unofficial visit to Taiwan.

In a talk to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reporters, he said: The Soviet Union has been purchasing Taiwan-made goods through a third party for a long time. Buying goods this way is more expensive. If we are moving toward a market economy, we should follow its laws. This means that we should buy goods from places where they are inexpensive. There is no need to feel embarassed about this.

On buying inexpensive goods, Popov, who holds a doctorate degree in economics, pointed out that the prices of export goods quoted by Taiwan are reasonable.

He added that when he visited Japan some large corporations promised to give Moscow as gifts automobiles, refrigerators, and electrical appliances worth 1 million dollars. He said these goods will be auctioned off and the proceeds will be spent on assisting people in the capital who operate their businesses soundly.

Recalling his trips to Japan and Taiwan, Popov pointed out that they are eager to develop cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Stankevich Rejects Excessive Travel Charge

PM0111164790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Oct 90 Union Edition p 2

[INTERFAX report: "Stankevich Rejects Charges"]

[Text] "Keeping in contact with the outside world is part of life for Moscow," Sergey Stankevich, first deputy chairman of Moscow City Soviet, declared in response to charges by individual mass media in which it was, to use Stankevich's expression, "as though, at the wave of a conductor's baton, a chorus of charges that the leadership of Moscow City Soviet makes excessively frequent trips abroad started up."

In Stankevich's opinion those who object to these trips "either understand extremely little about Moscow's economic situation or would consciously like to limit the possibilities for the capital's development. It is clear that blind isolation is simply pernicious for Moscow. [no closing quotation mark as published]

Concerning the establishment of sister city ties between Moscow and Tokyo during his trip to Japan, Stankevich pointed out that "this will not be formal, ritual cooperation as before, but intensive scientific, technical, and commercial interaction." As a first step and a goodwill gesture, six major Japanese corporations have agreed to allocate to Moscow more than $1 million for the acquisition of consumer goods. The funds have already been allocated and an accord has been concluded on the delivery of these goods to Moscow.

Ration Cards Introduced in Karelia 1 Nov

LD0211092190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Summary] Ration-card booklets [knizhki pokupatelya] came into use in Karelia from 1 November.

Southern Urals Plutonioum Plant Decommissioned

LD0111173190 Moscow TASS in English 1710 GMT 1 Nov 9

[Report by TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Tkachenko]

[Text] Chelyabinsk November 1 TASS—The Mayak chemical plant in the southern Urals has ceased producing plutonium. The last uranium graphite reactor was decommissioned today.

A rally devoted to the historic event was held here. It was attended by workers, scientists and veterans who created Soviet nuclear weapons under Academician Igor Kurchatov.

Nina Anikina, the daughter of well-known science fiction writer Aleksandr Kazantsev and a graduate of the Moscow Energy Institute, was among those who launched the reactor. For some 40 years she worked as an engineer here, trying to implement her father's daring

dreams. She edited the local paper, where chapters from her father's works were first published.

To music by Georgiy Sviridov, scarlet roses were laid by the reactor. After short but emotional speeches, a button was pressed to stop the reactor which had worked since 1952.

"We are strictly implementing the plan of military conversion, elaborated by the Soviet Ministry of the Nuclear Power Industry," plant director Viktor Fetisov said. "One of the main problems to be solved is the employment of highly skilled personnel."

"If stoppages of the first reactors caught us unawares, now we can propose new jobs in new directions we are developing in line with military conversion—instrument making and machine-building, radioisotope, optical fibre communications lines and light sources production and radiation technologies.

"Considerable forces will be involved in the extraction and return of uranium from spent nuclear plant fuel. Unemployment does not threaten the plant workers, although they might experience some discomfort because of the need to be retrained and learn new skills," he said.

6 Killed in Urals Chemical Plant Explosion

LD0211121490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1054 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Nadezhda Potapova: "Aftermath of Explosion Near Ural Town of Asbest"—TASS headline]

[Text] Sverdlovsk, 2 November— A special rescue team has been at work for almost 24 hours shifting through the ruins of the chemical plant which exploded yesterday near the Ural town of Asbest. As a result of the explosion six people are dead, 22 are injured and in hospital, and the fate of 10 others is not known.

According to workers' reports, liquid pyranite is produced there for work in the asbestos mines. The properties of pyranite are such that is explodes only when in contact with certain gases. It is likely that in this instance the cause of explosion lies in negligence in technological procedures. A special commission will establish the exact cause.

Medical specialists and the plant's administration have assured the local population that the explosion produced no danger of either radioactivity or chemical poisoning.

Omsk Soviet Seeks Approval for 'Open City' Status

PM0211105590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Oct 90 Union Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent S. Suslikov report: "Omsk City Open"]

[Text] Omsk—Omsk City Soviet has adopted a decision giving Omsk the status of an open city subordinated to the republic.

The paradox is that on the eve of the transition to the market the million-strong industrial city is safely isolated from the outside world as well as inside its own country. The fifth or sixth largest industrial producer in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], Omsk is not only closed to foreign businessmen but in addition to everything is deprived of the right of having an autonomous input into the republic planning and administration organs. Today the industrial giant ranks with rayon centers of 15-20,000 people. All this, of course, creates additional difficulties in running the city's complex economy, inhibits the development of its infrastructure, and denies any prospect of it with the transition to a market economy.

The city soviet session requested the USSR and RSFSR Council of Ministers to approve this decision.

North Ossetia Water Contaminated By Kerosene

LD0211103590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] The emergency commission set up in North Ossetia, after the discovery of the poisoning of subsurface water with kerosene in Mozdok Rayon, is continuing to assess the scale of the disaster. A lake of over 20 square kilometers has formed beneath the soil. In its water, the maximum permissible norms for kerosene concentration have been exceeded by hundreds of times. What is being pumped out of the ground is essentially fuel. The kerosene is continuing to seep through the subsoil, is entering the Terek, and is moving toward the Caspian. The republican health authorities have concluded that well water cannot be used for drinking and household purposes.

In 1991, water for Mozdok and the adjacent settlements will have to be obtained from the watertable at a depth of up to 400 meters. Before then, it will be necessary to switch over to an emergency supply of surrounding settlements with drinking water. The full picture of the subsurface water pollution with petroleum products has yet to be ascertained.

New Russian Legislature Publications Available

LD0211113390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] The Russian legislature has two new press organs. The ROSSIYA weekly was brought out today. It has been founded by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Rossiyskiy Dom Industrial and Commercial Company, and the Sokolniki Association. The ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA daily, an organ of the republican Supreme Soviet, will be sold at booths. Within a month weeklies belonging to the Council of Ministers and the Soviet of

Nationalities of the Russian Supreme Soviet will join this list. The latter will be covering interethnic problems in the republic.

Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, head of the RSFSR legislature, described the emergence of the Russian Soviet press as a major step toward strengthening Russian sovereignty. In his address to the readers and staff of the ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, he writes that the publication must be independent of the tastes and whims of any leading officials, including those from the Russian Supreme Soviet. A striving toward truth, objectivity, and response to the new should be its main guidelines.

The emergence of the new publications was decided by the RSFSR people's deputies, Logunov, RSFSR deputy minister for the press and media and USSR people's deputy, told a TASS correspondent. The registration of newspapers and magazines which is currently under way in our ministry graphically shows that the process of establishing the press of Soviet power has unfolded throughout the republic.

Next year will see the publication of a broad spectrum of magazines and newspapers of the soviets, including publications for children and young people.

Rayon TV Station on Air in Ryazan Oblast

PM0111164990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Oct 90 First Edition p 1

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, TASS roundup report: "Rayon Television on the Air"]

[Text] Sasovo, Ryazan Oblast—The first rayon television broadcast has taken place in the oblast. The Komsomol [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League] city committee has acted as the local television's organizer and sponsor. Sasovo Civil Aviation College teaching staff and specialists from a relay station located in the area have helped to implement this interesting idea. It is planned to place the new "glasnost channel" under the management of the city and rayon soviets of people's deputies.

Western Republics

Coverage of Crisis Situation in Gagauz Republic

Paper Details Situation

PM0211110190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Oct 90 p 1

[Feature comprising reports by special correspondents B. Vishnevskiy and A. Khantsevich and TASS correspondent D. Dyakov especially written for KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA: "The River Prut"]

[Text]

Left Bank....

Kishinev—Anyone who remembers Kishinev for its quiet streets lined with chestnut trees or its peaceful market bustle will not recognize it today. In the last few days the city has turned into an anxious frontline zone. People in paramilitary uniforms, singly and in columns, are again making their way to prearranged meeting points and buses. Then to an explosive confrontation line, the other side of which is manned by their mirror images. Also drowsy, embittered, and chilled to the bone by the wind and rain, yesterday they were fellow-countrymen. They used to exchange visits. But things have changed today.

"Moldova [Moldavia] is in danger!"—this appeal to all citizens of the republic, to President Mircha Snegur, and to Prime Minister Mircha Druk was recently published by local newspapers. It was signed by a series of organizations, ranging from the People's Front to ordinary secondary schools. "Compatriots, organize voluntary detachments...." "Be prepared to defend Moldova's integrity and sovereignty...." The republic's leadership issued Resolution No. 407 backing the initiative. Since last Wednesday, tens of thousands of sincere and patriotic volunteers have been patrolling Moldova's highways around the clock. They are prepared to rebuff the "Komrat pharisees" and "Dnestr region scions," the "zombies" and "newcomers" who "play up to autonomy ambitions"—these expressions are from President M. Snegur's report to the SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] of Moldova Supreme Soviet's second extraordinary session.

Last Sunday I was one of a group of journalists who got out of blockaded Kishinev and made our way to Komrat. But, just like on Saturday, we failed to reach the hot spot. A roadblock at rayon center Chimishliya blocked the way. The fruitless negotiations in the rain lasted for one and one-half hours. Our group became larger—we were joined by reporters from Central Television, local television, and Finnish Television. The verdict by the "republican staff" functioning within the state of emergency framework was unequivocal: Not a step further.

There were hundreds of home guards chanting outside the former raykom [rayon party committee] building: "Long live the sovereign republic! Death to the traitors!" What transpired at a meeting with the top leadership during a specially organized press conference? We could not travel on to Komrat. Safe passage could not be guaranteed. Nobody knew what troops were operating in the state of emergency conditions or in what numbers. Nor did anyone know the outcome of talks with the Gagauz side. But... the situation is getting back to normal. Why is the press not allowed through? This is inexpedient: "There is a danger of disinformation...."

We overtook about 50 buses carrying volunteers along the highway to Kishinev. The patrols at the city outskirts welcomed them with bread and salt. "We have returned home, having obtained from the MVD [Ministry of

Internal Affairs] troops a promise to bring the situation back to normal. But somehow we do not believe them. We are prepared to take up arms at the first call." These words by the volunteers provide the finishing touch to last Sunday's alarming picture. What does the future hold?

...Right Bank

Bucharest—The appeal by the People's Front and several other Moldovan public organizations to their brothers living on the other bank of the River Prut, asking them to stand up "in defense of the integrity" of the republic and against the formation of the Gagauz and Dnestr Republics on its territory, has produced a stormy response in Romania.

Bucharest and other cities in the country saw angry mass rallies of protest "against separatism which is threatening peace and tranquility in Moldova." Romania's largest political parties have issued official statements in support of the demands by the Moldovan People's Front. The latest sitting of Romania's legislature spent more than three hours discussing the text of its own declaration on the matter. The adopted document is in favor of preserving Moldova's territorial integrity and in support of M.S. Gorbachev's stance.

The Romanian legislators' alarm is understandable. Their blood brothers—with whom they are linked by common language, culture, and traditions—live on the other bank of the River Prut. But something else is amazing: The ease with which the leaders of some political groupings intend to "eliminate the problems" of Moldova's people. "An empire founded on plunder, violence, and deceit is resisting the march of history, believing itself to be still strong. Extremist groupings from Moscow... have created two phantom ministates on the territory of sovereign Moldova," the leaders of five political formations and "nonpolitical" associations write in their protest, without bothering to offer any special proof. "If the blood of our Romanian brothers is shed there, in Moldova, there will be nothing left for us to do but cross the River Prut and help them"—this is the option of solidarity offered by Gavrile Copil, chairman of the "Bucharest-Kishinev" Cultural Society, from the pages of TINERETUL LIBER.

A statement by a Romanian Foreign Ministry spokesman to the effect that "Soviet Moldova's problems are a matter within the USSR's exclusive competence," which was published by two or three newspapers, got lost among the hundreds of publications whose general tone is set by the slogans to be heard in the country's streets and squares: "Return Bessarabia!", "Down With the Border!"

Many people in Romania believe that the campaign against the creation of the Gagauz and Dnestr Republics on Moldova's territory has acquired vivid nationalist hues.

'Anti-Army' Actions Criticized

PM0111163190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Oct 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Colonel A. Yurkin under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Protest Lodged"]

[Text] Kishinev—USSR People's Deputy Colonel General V. Osipov, commander of the sector troops [voyska napravleniya], has lodged a protest with the SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] of Moldova leadership. It notes that attacks on the USSR Armed Forces have drastically increased in connection with the complication of the sociopolitical situation in the republic. The SSR of Moldova Supreme Soviet appeal to the peoples and parliaments of the world, pinning responsibility for recent events in the republic on the Soviet Army, is ranked among these attacks. Anti-Army hysteria has also been whipped up in republic television programs which groundlessly accuse the Armed Forces of kindling interethnic strife.

Troop units are being picketed in various areas of the republic and in Kishinev by the militia and groups of "volunteers," and military hardware and motor vehicles are being inspected illegally. Three officers and generals have been subjected to armed detention and arrest. During the examination there were insults and threats directed at the Soviet Army and the servicemen's personal dignity was humiliated. The sector troops Military Council regards these acts as illegal and is demanding that steps be taken to put a stop to internal affairs organs' anticonstitutional actions toward units and subunits stationed on Moldovan territory, servicemen, and members of their families.

Situation 'Still Complex'

PM0111144990 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 31 Oct 90 p 1

[Report by B. Vishnevskiy and A. Khantsevich: "Moldova, 30 October"]

[Text] "Well, all familiar faces," said Colonel General Yu.V. Shatalin, commander of the USSR MVD Internal Troops, whom we had finally "caught up with" the day before in Tiraspol, when he met us. Our work as journalists has indeed become similar in some respects to the fate of the "blue berets" of late.

It is extremely hard to cover events in Moldova today. The press is still not being allowed into the area covered by the state of emergency, and it is extremely dangerous to use information given by others—any incorrect sentence immediately causes another explosion.

But the situation in the republic is still complex. The volunteers' withdrawal is continuing for the second day. Moldovan militiamen are pulling back from the borders with Gagauzia, and leaders of detachments who came to

the Gagauz from the Dnestr area have agreed to withdraw their formations from southern areas.

However the problems have not diminished. It is not that easy to persuade excited people to return to their normal way of life. Unfortunately, seats of tension arose unexpectedly in areas of Moldova far removed from Gagauzia. The interethnic confrontation seems to be threatening to surge up into a mass protest against ingrained systems. Yesterday evening party raykom [rayon party committee] buildings were picketed in Orgeyev, Strasheny, and Kantemir. Raykoms in Kagul and Ungeny Cities were effectively captured. At this time an extraordinary session of the Ungeny City Soviet is to decide the fate of the building housing not only the party committee but also the rayon soviet ispolkom [executive committee].

Primary party organizations are still being wound up everywhere. Thus, the Moldovan internal affairs minister gave the order for subunit leaders to put a stop to party organizations' activity 1 September. In the wake of the MVD, Kishinev City Soviet and the Ministry of Science and Education also decided to do this. A group of people's deputies asked the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet to repeal the illegal decision and speed up the adoption of laws "On State Power" and "On Parties and Sociopolitical Organizations."

Given the worsening sociopolitical situation, the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet has decided not to ratify the USSR president's decree "On Holding Military Parades To Mark the Great October Socialist Revolution" and to deem it invalid on the republic's territory.

'Anticommunist Hysteria' Viewed

PM0211104190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[Dispatch by correspondent A. Pasechnik: "They Have Laid Their Hands on the Raykoms"]

[Text] Kishinev, 30 Oct—Correspondents of central publications still have to assess the development of events in the south of Moldova according to reports on national radio and television and also by using information that has been obtained on a private basis, so to speak. We are still not allowed into the state of emergency zone.

It is known from unofficial sources that a bilateral discussion of the situation is taking place in the south. The situation remains most tense as before, although the introduction of two regiments of USSR MVD troops into the territory, where there is a high density of Gagauz, quenched passions to a considerable degree. The situation is fully under control. Now as local radio reported a few hours ago, the main task is to bring the republic militia into these territories and give the SSR of Moldova Supreme Soviet provisional committee the opportunity to start implementing the state of emergency regime.

Detachments of Moldavian volunteers, whose status incidentally is to be determined by legislation, are coming back from the south. Admittedly, I am at present unable to say exactly whether some of them remain in the areas of blockaded Gagauz territories. But alas, concerned telephone calls have started coming into the correspondence center. In a number of rayon centers, the returning volunteers have started picketing the buildings of the Moldavian Communist Party raykoms.

"Not just picketing, but also blockading or even seizing," V. Tsyra, senior official at the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, said more specifically. "In Kakhul for example, where the volunteers together with local hooligan elements besieged the raykom building and then penetrated it. Since this morning the raykom in Ungeny has been blockaded with the demand that the building be returned to the Children's Arts Center. In Strasheny, a group of volunteers and local 'activists' have given the raykom a categorical date for its eviction. A clear aim can be seen behind all these acts and other analogous cases of flagrant lawlessness—to work up anticommunist hysteria in Moldova as much as possible. Yesterday, the republic leadership made a statement to M. Snegur, president of the SSR of Moldova, about all these outrages. We also made a demand to the republic prosecutor's office to put an end to the lawlessness. We are preparing a Central Committee Secretariat statement on this subject. We will state the following main things in it: Certain forces are trying to remove the Communist Party from the Moldavian political arena by means of these outrages and by stupefying the young people. Speaking out against these acts of lawlessness, we state firmly that we have operated and will continue to operate within the framework of the laws of the SSR of Moldova."

Situation Reportedly 'Easing'

LD0111231190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2130 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Report by correspondent A. Vengruk in Komrat from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] [Announcer] On the situation in Moldova: The situation in the south of the republic seems to be easing. A few hours ago we received a report from our correspondents in Komrat:

[Begin recording] [Vengruk] It is possible to judge what the situation is like in Komrat by the fact that here at the moment people are standing on the square and anxiously awaiting any kind of information. The main thing worrying the local population is who will determine the fate of these people. On the one hand all those here (?elected) the president and the working bodies of the Gagauz republic supreme soviet, while on the other a special Moldova government commission has arrived in Komrat. The results of the first meeting between the self-government body and the repubican representatives has cleared up little.

We will give a more detailed account of the events taking place in our reports tomorrow. But today the most important thing is that the situation in the Gagauz areas has stabilized. There is complete mutual understanding between the troops who are controlling the situation and the population. [end recording]

[Announcer] An extraordinary session of the Moldovan legislature opened today. It was closed to the press. Apart from the situation in the south, the question of creating a national guard on the basis of volunteer units was discussed. Moldova's coat of arms is to be approved. This will remove the question of the identical coats of arms of Moldova and Romania.

Moldavian Legislature Meets

LD0111153690 Moscow TASS in English 1432 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Report by TASS and MOLDOVA-PRESS correspondents]

[Text] Kishinev November 1 TASS—The Moldavian parliament met today to discuss political and economic development, namely the agrarian reform blueprint, bills on the social-economic independence of Moldavia, prices, the code of land, ownership and others.

At a closed session the supreme soviet discussed the social and political situation in Moldavia. Despite the withdrawal of nearly all volunteer detachments from the state-of-emergency zone, the situation in the republic remains serious. The situation in southern Moldavia is being controlled only by USSR Interior Ministry troops, a fact which irks some political forces.

In an address to the republican parliament, the executive committee of the Moldavian Popular Front described the sending of Interior Ministry troops into the zone as "a grave mistake", because these troops allegedly "ignore instructions of the Moldavian Government aimed at enforcing emergency measures".

The Popular Front leadership demands that the republican parliament "declare immediate and unconditional secession from the USSR and press for the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from the territory of the republic and suspension of the activity of KGB bodies".

The document also demands that the parliament "ask the United Nations to introduce its troops into Moldavia for a period determined by the republican leadership".

The front leaders ask the Romanian Government "to pursue more consistent actions to defend Romanians leaving east of the Prut river".

CPSU Statement on Events

LD0111191990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat has adopted a statement on the events in Moldova. It says:

The exacerbation of the situation in Moldova as a consequence of defects in the field of interethnic relations is arousing profound concern and alarm among Communists and public opinion in this country. Civic peace and the integrity of the Republic of Moldova have found themselves under threat. In connection with this we deem it necessary to declare that, based on its principled line on the nationalities issue, the CPSU has backed and now backs respect for the interests of all nations and ethnic groups and the strengthening of the sovereignty and integrity of the republics. It is resolutely opposed to all manifestations of national chauvinism and separatism, regardless of whose side they emanate from. Civic accord, the integrity of Moldova, and its genuine sovereignty are only attainable through a just solution of the ethnic problems that arise in society and with regard for the intersts of all the peoples that inhabit a given territory.

We call on Communists and all social and political forces to heed the voice of reason; to abandon unnecesary emotions, arrogance, and suspicion; and to pursue patient and constructive dialogue for the sake of resolving the difficulties that have arisen through exclusively political and civilized methods.

Snegur Comments on Crisis

LD0111223790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Report by correspondent A. Barkhatov from the Moldavian Supreme Soviet session in Kishinev, including remarks by Mircha Snegur, chairman of the Presidium of the Moldavian Council of Ministers; from the "Vremya" newscast—live or recorded]

[Text] [Barkhatov] Although providing goods for the population has obviously worsened in Moldova recently, and the economy has been in a fever, the [Supreme Soviet] session has mainly political issues on the agenda. From the very beginning of debates on the situation in the southern areas, much criticism was leveled at Colonel General Shatalin, who was absent, as leader of the MVD Internal Troops. The sluggishness of the subdivisions under his command and their noncompliance with the republican Supreme Soviet's requests were mentioned. There also was a lot of criticism leveled at the country's government in general for ineffective help in resolving the conflict in the regions of southern Moldova and Dnestr.

Now, at this very moment the issue of whether the session should discuss the sociopolitical situation in the republic behind closed doors, or whether journalists should be allowed to attend, is being decided. To all appearances—and we are going to see this now—the majority is against the presence of the press at this meeting.

Since the session is being held behind closed doors, could you please tell us in what direction is the discussion of the situation in the south developing? Is any solution taking shape?

[Snegur] For the time being, the situation remains very crisis-like and complex. I would say, in connection with this fact, that all the phases of introducing the state of emergency have not been completed, although the provisional committee appointed by the legislature is already on the scene and has started working. I think that although it is already late, the legislature must adopt a very specific decision so that our comrades, who have been recalled from the scene for this meeting, could return there with specific instructions.

Situation 'Somewhat Stabilized'

LD0211104190 Moscow TASS in English 1023 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Report by MOLDOVA-PRESS-TASS correspondents Anatoliy Golya and Aleksandr Tanas]

[Text] Kishinev November 2 TASS—The Situation in southern Moldavia, declared by the republican parliament a state-of-emergency zone, has somewhat stabilised. All volunteer detachments have been withdrawn and the situation is controlled by Soviet Interior Ministry troops.

Andrey Sangeliy, chairman of the parliament provisional committee for enforcing the state of emergency, told Moldavian television that the committee is capable of fulfilling its duties and there are no obstacles to it.

"There is understanding with members of the Supreme Soviet of the so-called Gagauz Republic regarding current issues and the main issue of preventing the bloodshed," he stressed. "A parliamentary solution is the only way."

The Moldavian Supreme Soviet today continues discussing measures to stabilise the situation in the republic.

Gorbachev Meets With Luchinskiy

AU0211113890 Paris AFP in English 1050 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Moscow, Nov 2 (AFP) — Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has met here with the Communist chief of the troubled republic of Moldavia, where two breakaway republics have been declared, the INTERFAX news agency reported Friday.

The president of the Soviet parliament Anatoliy Lukyanov was also present at the meeting Thursday of Mr. Gorbachev and Moldavian Communist Party head Pyetr Luchinskiy, said the unofficial agency Interfax.

Meanwhile, in an interview with Moldavian radio and television in the Moldavian capital Kishinev, Mr. Luchinskiy said upon his return to the southwest republic that he had asked Mr. Gorbachev to "indicate clearly his position on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Moldavia and his reaction to the creation of the two republics" of Gagauz and Dniester.

He said the Soviet president had given "support in principle". He did not elaborate.

A state of emergency was declared October 26 in the Gagauz regions after local parliamentary elections were invalidated by Kichinev.

The republic of Gagauz was unilaterally declared in August by the Gagauz, ethnic Turks who follow orthodox Christianity. The republic of Dniester was unilaterally created recently by the Russian minority in Moldavia, one of the Soviet Union's 15 constituent republics.

Nearly all the republics, including Russia, have passed declarations of sovereignty as tensions grow within the Soviet Union following the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe.

'Extremists' Attack MVD Column

LD0211135190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] A column of internal troops leaving Kishinev for the area under a state of emergency was attacked by extremists. Some soldiers received injuries. In recent days such incidents have become more frequent.

Colonel General Osipov, commander in chief of the troops of the southwest sector, stated in this regard that we are not looking for conflict, but evidently our peaceable disposition does not suit some people. Many have forgotten that the lads in soldiers uniforms are someone's sons. Subunits have also been introduced into the republic at the request of its government.

Soviet Commander Comments

LD0211141190 Moscow TASS in English 1326 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Kishinev November 2 TASS—"We are not seeking conflicts, but those who are sending youths to barracks apparently do not like our peacefulness," Colonel-General Vladimir Osipov, commander-in-chief of the Soviet Union's southwestern troops, told TASS, commenting on developments in Moldavia.

"Some people need a Moldavia Karabakh-style or Ulster-style, or developments similar to those in Tbilisi, to achieve their far-reaching goals," Osipov said.

"These people would not hesitate to sacrifice the lives of their compatriots for the sake of their own political ambitions. But those who are being condemned to death, as well as their relatives and friends, should think hard.

"Soldiers are not hungry students. They fulfill their combat tasks with weapons in their hands. God forbid that one of them yields to the provocation or his nerves give."

Moldavia's Snegur Discusses Republic Developments

PM0111161190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Oct 90 Union Edition p 3

[Interview with President of Moldova M.I. Snegur by correspondent E. Kondratov: "What Is Going on in Moldova"]

[Text] The difficult social and political situation that exists in Moldova at the moment continues to perturb people. Since the creation of the Gagauz Republic in the steppe region of Budhzak was announced in August and the creation of the Dnestr Republic on the left bank of the Dnestr was announced in September, the very existence of the SSR of Moldova as an integrated sovereign state has been in jeopardy. Tension is growing and efforts at dialogue have so far been unsuccessful. A Law on a Legal State of Emergency and Special Forms of Government has been published in the republican press and the dates of elections to the future Supreme Soviets of republics independent of the SSR of Moldova have been set in Komrat and Tiraspol.

The other day the papers published M. Gorbachev's appeal to the people of Moldova. Will it be a weighty factor, capable of aiding the stabilization of the situation in the republic? "Common sense suggests that it will," Mircha Ion Snegur, president of the SSR of Moldova, believes. An IZVESTIYA correspondent talked with him:

[Kondratov] On what do you base your confidence, Mr. Snegur? After all, Gorbachev's appeal says nothing about the legality of the formation of the Gagauz and Dnestr Republics. They are not even mentioned.

[Snegur] Nonetheless, in my view the USSR President put paid to the separatists' hopes of support for their claims. He was unequivocal: No problem can be tackled today except on the basis of legality and the preservation of the republic's integrity. It is this—respect for the law and guarantees of Moldovan unity—that we talk about when trying to persuade the separatists to abandon their destructive ideas. The people of Moldova will never reconcile themselves to their country's facing the threat of territorial dismemberment again, as has happened repeatedly in the past, having only just declared its sovereignty and acquired statehood at long last.

[Kondratov] Several items in local papers have claimed that these forces are "directed by the center," however no one has explained what it is—the center that is so opposed to Moldova's acquisition of sovereignty. But on occasions candor comes to the surface—Gorbachev.

[Snegur] The USSR President, as I have said before, has defined his position and this is reassuring for us. But no way does it mean that there are no forces in the country that hanker after keeping intact the kind of administrative and political agglomeration that our Union has been hitherto. The events in Moldavia reflect to a certain extent the disposition of political forces in the country. It is no accident at all that the leaders of the so-called Dnestr Republic include past and current leaders of union enterprises to whom the upcoming process of destatization of the economy in Moldova is anathema. They will fight to the last to preserve the old ministerial-departmental, centralized economic stricture which led to the crisis in the country and in Moldova in particular. They slotted perfectly into that system and they are bound to be frightened about the future. In pursuing their mercenary interests they are playing havoc with the working class who, one imagines, would definitely be interested in drastic socioeconomic changes since they do not want to go on living in the way they have lived hitherto. Anti-perestroyka forces are everywhere. Their base is the recently established party-economic-bureaucratic bloc which has been up to all manner of things of late. It is fighting frantically at the moment to keep its command positions.

[Kondratov] But is this what it is all about? It is one thing when there are several politicians in opposition to the republican power structures, but another when they are backed by thousands and thousands of inhabitants of cities and villages, concerned not so much about the future of the economy as about the infringement of individual rights and freedoms. Remember that the troubled times began in Moldova with the political strikes due to language laws which the Russian-speaking population considers discriminatory.

[Snegur] First one ought to establish precisely who infringed the language laws adopted by the legislature of Moldova and in what way. I do not think it is legitimate to call the demand the law makes on leaders—knowledge of Moldavian and Russian—unconstitutional. It is certainly democratic vis-a-vis their subordinates. A leader should be able to use the state language in contacts with Moldovan state organs. There can be no question of keeping arrangements that discriminated against Moldavians, whereby the mother tongue was suitable "for the home and for the family," while Russian alone was used at work. Certain people ought to pick up a textbook. Hard? Not enough free time? Of course, but necessary. Ordinary specialists and people involved in consumer services need only know enough of both languages to be able to carry out their duties, and that is right.

[Kondratov] But as far as I know, people in Moldova have not really faced up to the fact that the language laws give five to six years for the transition to bilingualism. Even now many departments are only using documents in Moldavian. The language test for officials is still a long way off. Even now they are trying to get rid of specialists who do not have the state language; even people who have started learning Moldavian are giving it up because

they realize that the deadline set by the law is a mere formality. The law itself is merely the non-Moldavians' means of survival.

[Snegur] How can one think that of a law that has instilled in the Moldavian people the hope of a renaissance of their language and culture? We know that in some cases people have been forcing the pace and a special commission has been set up to consider the matter. Monitoring must be intensified. The "language zeal" does not always help and can sometimes disorientate people. One must say this loud and clear and not allow our legislative acts to be discredited in this way. There is something else that is very worrying. Many people have categorically rejected the law's provisions without examining it thoroughly. I would go further than that—it is not just the attitude to the law, but the Moldavian language itself and its users. Indeed Moldavian schools, inscriptions in the Latin alphabet, and monuments to our classic writers are often vilified.

But even if the deadline set by the law is observed, is it realistic to expect that everyone will start speaking Moldavian in five years' time in Tiraspol, where nine-tenths of the population are Russian-speaking? Everyone knows that neither the linguistic ambience nor the proper conditions exist for the study of the state language. In order to avoid provoking discontent, would it not be better to establish special linguistic regimes in certain regions of Moldova and give some latitude, particularly in the sphere of business documents?

[Snegur] In the business documents sphere our laws envisage the use of two languages—out of necessity. As for the possibility of reviewing certain provisions of the law, it is well known that in all democratic countries this is only done by legislative means, not through rallies and strikes. A lack of respect for laws inevitably leads to anarchy and the destruction of statehood.

[Kondratov] You mean you completely rule out the possibility of any sensible compromises in the future? This after all is what the USSR President was urging the Moldavian people to do—patiently seek accord and mutually acceptable solutions on the basis of equal rights and human freedoms.

[Snegur] It depends what basis for compromise is envisaged. I believe that any grounds for contradictions will soon disappear of their own accord. For instance, when the national coat of arms is established on the flag of the SSR of Moldova there will no longer be any grounds for claiming that it is the flag of another country. It was decided that it would be sensible not to rush the wholesale switch of certain Moldavian papers to the Latin alphabet—such a switch would take time. I hope that the new administrative division of Moldova that is being worked out at the moment will help to differentiate the republic's regions in some way—and it will then be easier to take account of their peculiarities. Incidentally, the possibility of creating an administrative unit with a predominantly Gagauz population, where optimal conditions could be created for the development of this ethnic group's language and culture, was mentioned at the SSR of Moldova Supreme Soviet. Unfortunately, the idea was given a hostile reception by the staunch autonomists who are continuing to brandish the bugbear of the "Romanianization" of Moldova.

[Kondratov] Without good cause, do you think?

[Snegur] The demagogues have a favorite method, you know—they ascribe to the oppponent ideas that are alien to him and then they assiduously stigmatize him. So despite the fact that I and Prime Minister Mircha Druk have repeatedly said that unification with Romania has not been and is not an issue as far as the republic's present leadership is concerned, the ideologists of separatism seem not to hear. They have only one argument: The trends were in evidence at the Moldova People's Front congress, they say. Excuse me, but in that case the criticism should be directed toward the People's Front, not the republic's leadership. It is a great shame that not everyone in the Dnestr area and the Budzhak Steppes currently appreciates that what Moldova needs is not "affiliations," "mergers," or even "federations." It needs genuine statehood, that is republican sovereignty. All of us, irrespective of nationality, yearn for its establishment.

[Kondratov] But if this implies a unity of aims and a common destiny for all the Moldavians, Ukrainians, Russians, Gagauz, Bulgarians, and Jews living in the republic, should one be so intent as the Moldavian press is on emphasizing the primacy of the "indigenous population's" interests? Non-Moldavians whose ancestors settled here many tens and even hundreds of years ago would not regard themselves as newcomers and inferiors. Even those who arrived only recently, have they done something wrong? Indeed, the chief document of the entire democratic world—the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—asserts the full equality of people of all nationalities and races and the supremacy of general human values above all others. Incidentally, the very history of Moldova speaks for itself—people of different nationalities have lived here peacefully, side by side, from time immemorial.

[Snegur] That is true of course, and you could not accuse Moldavians of inhospitability. But no people should allow itself to melt away and become absorbed in a jumble of tribes and dialects. To be frank, no one apart from the Moldavians themselves would bother to save their language, culture, and traditions. Therefore the word "Moldavian' will be pronounced louder and more often than any other in the republic that bears their name. So neither the Russians, nor the Gagauz, nor the Ukrainians should be offended. Perhaps it is still strange—it is only two years since Moldavians dared to take pride themselves out loud, without fear of condemnation and punishment by the "internationalist" leaders. Only recently were they permitted to publicly recall the

linguistic, cultural, and historical unity with their Romanian brothers on the other side of the Prut. You do not condemn a people who have at last been able to take a proprietorial look around them and have started to create their own laws and rules of life in their own home, in the land of their fathers. One must face the fact that Moldova is not the territory, but above all the country of the Moldavians with whom members of other peoples have lived as neighbors in the past, and moreover have gotten on splendidly. At the same time there is no doubt that, in terms of civil rights, both Moldavians and non-Moldavians are equal and we do not and cannot have any second-class citizens here.

[Kondratov] However, it is infringement of rights that the inhabitants of the Dnestr area and the southern part of the republic are talking about. The referendums there were deemed unlawful by the legislature of Moldova. But even if they do not correspond formally to the republic's constitution, their results surely express the will of many, many thousands—no, not politicians but ordinary people, as they say?

[Snegur] I will answer your question with a question: Is it possible in fact to decide the future integrity of a sovereign state on the basis of an opinion poll in a city or village? But what if one were to conduct a republic-wide referendum now, asking whether or not there should be a unified Moldova? Is there the slightest doubt that the vast majority would answer yes! Let us imagine for a moment each rural soviet holding meetings to decide whether to submit to the authorities' laws or decisions, what would happen then? The state would simply cease to exist and chaos would reign. Only a rule-of-law state, that is one in which laws are honored and observed, can guarantee its citizens a normal human life. But the referendums and the calls for civil disobedience by the separatists' leaders serve a totally different purpose—to disrupt society and nip Moldova's statehood in the bud. In short, muddy the water, and then in all likelihood throw history into reverse.

That is why, when I hear references to the "will of the people's masses," I say: stop, let us get a proper breakdown of the interests. Where are the sincere aspirations of thousands and thousands of people and where are the political ambitions of their "leaders" who have clambered into the leadership seats amid the roar of perestroyka or are eager to make the ascent? I am deeply convinced that the legislature and government of Moldova will be able to find mutual understanding with the inhabitants of the Dnestr area and Budzhak, although it will be a difficult path. There is nothing to divide us. Moldova is for us all. We all have the same stake, irrespective of nationality, in making it rich, peaceful, and happy. I have faith in the wisdom of the peasants, workers, and intelligentsia of the Left Bank and the Budzhak Steppes. I believe that the people's common sense will tell that what is more important today—to fence in stillborn borders and republics or get down to the most vital task for us all—the transition to the market. I believe in the people's ability to make the right choice and finally silence the politickers who are placing it in great peril. This has to be done as soon as possible—we already have too many tragic examples of tardiness in our country, alas.

Iliescu Denounces Claim to Moldavian Territories

LD0111160390 Moscow TASS in English 1515 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Yuriy Kozlov]

[Text] Vienna November 1 TASS—"Romania is concerned about Romanians in the USSR, but it has no intention of altering the existing borders between the two countries," President Ion Iliescu told Austrian television. The interview was telecast on Wednesday evening.

Iliescu denounced territorial claims to Bessarabia and northern Bukovina, which became part of the Soviet Union after the Second World War.

"The meetings and demonstrations, held in Bucharest practically every day, are not a manoeuvre of the ruling party to divert the people from domestic economic problems," Iliescu said. "They are spontaneous and express solidarity with the five million Romanians in Moldavia and other Soviet republics."

Turning to the country's economic situation, Iliescu said the programme to switch to a market economy had several phases, each expected to last some time.

"No quick economic effect will be yielded by the forthcoming reform of prices and privatisation. The Romanian people will be confronted by many grave difficulties in the coming years," he said.

The president expressed regret that the West failed to understand and back the efforts of the Romanian leadership, which is tackling far from easy problems.

Romanians Demonstrate Supporting Moldavians

LD2810222490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Report by correspondent Zheleznyak in Bucharest; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The demonstrators chant: Moscow, do not forget that Bessarabia is not yours; Bessarabia and Bukovina are Romanian lands; Long live Great Romania! Several times during the past week they have marched right through the city, ending up here at the Soviet Embassy in Bucharest. These marches have been organized in response to an appeal by the People's Front of Moldavia to their Romanian brothers to defend the integrity of Moldavian territory from the Gagauz and the inhabitants of Pridnestrovye who have decided to hold their own elections in order, on the basis of the latter, to legitimize their republics.

The daily rally was organized by two parties that have recently brought together people who split from the

right-wing National Peasants' Party because of their even more right-wing views. Among the organizers of the march is Nica Leon, leader of the Free Democratic Party, known in the country as one of the organizers of the June disturbances on University Square.

One gets the impression that the organizers of these marches have set the aim of acquiring the political capital they so greatly need from the Romanian population's sincere concern regarding the situation in Soviet Moldavia. It is hard to believe that they are unaware that demonstrations with these slogans by no means promote a reduction of tension; on the contrary, they heighten it.

The Romanian legislature has taken a different stand. Following heated and, at times, even excessively emotional speeches, it adopted a declaration. At this difficult moment, it states, the Romanian parliament voices support for the freedom-loving people of Moldavia who wish to live according to their choice and conscience in understanding and concord with all citizens of the republic. The parliament regards as opportune the statement by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev calling the formation of the Gagauz and Pridnestrovye republics anticonstitutional, tension-creating acts.

Speaking to journalist, (Miles Kalo) a representative of the Romanian Foreign Ministry, stated: We are not indifferent to the fate of the Moldavian population, with whom we have spiritual and historical links, but we do believe that the problems of Moldavia are exclusively a matter for the USSR.

Moldavia Imposes Export Tax on Produce

LD3111084390 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA in Russian 20 Oct 90 pp 1,2

[Text] The government of the Moldovan [Moldavian] Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] has adopted a decision "On the Institution of Customs Duty on the Export of Specific Products."

In execution of the Law of the Moldovan SSR on import and export; guided by the decision of the Moldovan SSR government of 21 September 1990 and Article 2 of the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 26 January 1981 "On local taxes and duties"; and in order to protect the interests of the public in the Republic and stabilize the consumer market, the government of the Moldovan SSR has resolved to introduce from 20 october 1990 customs duties on enterprises, institutions, organizations, cooperatives, and citizens exporting produce from the Republic to other regions of the USSR:

	Customs duty per kg (in rubles and kopecks)
Wheat, barley	3.00
Apples, plums, and grapes	1.00
Other fruits, berries and vegetables (except cabbage and beetroot)	0.50
Meat and meat products	2.50
Cattle and other livestock, pigs, and poultry (live weight)	1.50
Vegetable oil	0.50
Animal fat	1.00
Meat, fruit, and vegetable preserves	30 percent of retail price

The decision stresses that customs duty is not to be levied on enterprises and oganizations supplying produce in accordance with obligations to the Union stocks or contracting for supplies between republics agreed by the Moldovan Government or on its behalf by enterprises, organizations, and other economic units. Customs duty is not to be levied on citizens for the export of up to 20 kg of produce per person.

Banking institutions have been instructed to arrange the acceptance from juridical and actual persons the amounts due in customs duty according to procedure, and to pay 70 percent into the republican budget and 30 percent into the budget of the rayon or town soviet of people's deputies, according to the place of residence of the taxpayer—and to hand on the relevant documents (receipts) concerning the payment to serve as export permits for the goods and services being presented to the control bodies.

The Moldovan SSR Ministry of the National Economy and the Ministry of Finance have been instructed to within 10 days compile a list of goods and services subject to quota and licenses for export beyond the bounds of the USSR, a list of goods and services subject to quota and licenses for export to other regions of the USSR, and a list of goods and services which can freely be taken out of the Republic but which are subject to customs duty.

The Moldovan SSR Ministry of Transport; the directorate of Moldovan Railways; the Moldovan Civil Aviation Directorate and other transport organizations; and the Moldovan SSR Ministry of Information Technology, Information, and Communications have been given instructions not to accept for carriage the abovementioned cargoes without being shown by the dispatchers the bank's documentation (receipt, payment order) concerning the payment of customs duty.

The State Department of Customs Control, the Ministry of Intenal Affairs the State Tax Inspectorate of the Moldovan SSR Ministry of Finance, and the executive committees of local soviet of people's deputies have been told of the need to establish strict control over the implementation of this decision.

Kravchuk Discusses Ukrainian Politics

PM0111145590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Oct 90 First Edition p 3

[Dispatch by Colonel A. Polyakov under the "Direct Line" rubric: "L. Kravchuk Meeting With Journalists"]

[Text] Kiev—L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, has met with Soviet and foreign journalists. Recently, he said, certain mass media have circulated reports to the effect that a dangerous "rift" has formed in the republic Supreme Soviet which is leading to a split and a political power crisis.

This "move" is being made to lead the Ukrainian people into thinking that the present Supreme Soviet membership cannot do anything useful or radical, and consequently that its days are numbered. Such deductions are accompanied by references to speeches made by delegates who occupy extreme left- or right-wing positions. In actual fact, intense constructive work is being carried out at the session, a number of very important laws have been adopted, and new legislative acts are next in line.

However, the positive achievements in the work of the highest organ do not suit those who pursue power themselves. Certain deputies, and particularly members of the Ukrainian Republican Party, have apparently set themselves the task of removing members of the Communist party from the leading structures by using indiscriminate means. They do not shun any methods in order to achieve these aims.

Under the motto "Masol Routed, Kravchuk Next," emissaries from the Ivano-Frankovsk area became regular visitors on the territory of the electoral okrug in Vinnitsa Oblast where L. Kravchuk was candidate. They are trying to provoke the electorate into not recalling their deputy L. Kravchuk from the Supreme Soviet just because he is a Communist.

The situation in the economy and the consumer market is far from simple. Approximately as of 1 November, "customer booklets" will be introduced which will be a kind of coupon system for the acquisition of certain manufactured goods and food products.

Journalists received curious information about the holding of the second all-Ukrainian meeting of Rukh. It turned out that the secretariat of this movement prohibited radio and television relays from its congress in order to obtain certain dividends from hiring video films made during the congress, while rumors are being circulated that it is the authorities who are prohibiting television relays.

In answer to a question about the Soviet Army draft, L. Kravchuk said that draftees will be sent outside the republic at their request or at the decision of local organs and military commissariats. As of spring of next year this will be done on a voluntary basis only.

Rukh Declares Itself 'Opposition' to Communists

PM0211091590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Oct 90 Union Edition p 2

[INTERFAX report: "Is 'Rukh' Becoming the Official Opposition to the Communist Party?"]

[Text] At yesterday evening's session of the Second All-Ukrainian "Rukh" Congress which is taking place in Kiev, its participants embarked on a discussion of amendments to the movement's statutes and program. It was proposed to remove the words "for perestroyka" from the title "Ukrainian People's 'Rukh' for Perestroyka," since perestroyka is associated with the official line of the Communist Party. It is also proposed to proclaim the rebirth of the Ukraine's state independence and the creation of an independent rule-of-law legislative republic as "Rukh's" chief aim. It was declared that "Rukh" is the opposition to the Communist Party, although "ordinary Communists who wish to shake off communism must have the opportunity to do so." Addressing the congress V. Chernovol, chairman of Lvov Oblast Soviet, advanced a proposal for a federative structure of the Ukrainian lands. He also stated the need to "prepare the people for actions of mass disobedience so as to paralyze life in the republic if reactionary forces want to turn society back."

Ternopol Decides Not To Mark 7 Nov Holiday

LD0111225390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Nov 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A TASS report: The Ternopol City Soviet has decided that 7 November will be a working day in the town. City dwellers will have holidays on the remaining days of the week, that is on 8, 9, 10, and 11 November. Local authorities intend to mark another day—the 72d anniversary of the creation of the West Ukrainian People's Republic—which is on 1 November.

Ukraine Makes Decision on Church Buildings

PM0211105190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Oct 90 Union Edition p 2

[Report by S. Tsikora: "Ukraine: Calming Believers' Feelings"]

[Text] Kiev—The split in Orthodoxy in the Ukraine, where two registered churches—the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church—are currently operating on the basis of a single faith, has compelled government organs to determine their position on the religious buildings to which the different faiths are laying claim.

The Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers has examined the question of giving certain churches to religious communities to use. It has been deemed possible in the near future to give the Church of the Feast of the Protection of the Virgin in Kiev in the

Podol district—one of the best examples of Ukrainian Baroque—along with the Church of Feodosiy Pecherskiy and the refectory church at the former St. Michael's Monastery, to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. It is planned to give the city's Roman Catholic community the building of the former Church of St. Aleksandr.

The government's main condition is that religious communities should ensure the appropriate preservation, repair, and restoration of the buildings which they are given, coordinating this work without fail with state organs safeguarding historical and cultural monuments. The state will also support religious communities' efforts to meet the need for religious buildings through new construction work.

A decision has also been pronounced as regards churches that were a "bone of contention." In view of the exceptional historical and cultural significance of the architectural complexes of Kiev's Cathedral of St. Sofia, the Kievan Monastery of the Caves, and the Churches of St. Cyril and St. Andrey, it has been decided that they are not to be given to any religious organization for permanent use and their use for religious purposes can only be authorized in special cases.

Ukraine To Investigate Faulty Nuclear Plant

LD0111213490 Moscow TASS in English 2050 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Nikolayev, Ukraine November 1 TASS—The regional procurator's office has taken criminal action against a number of enterprises and instituted a formal expert examination in connection with systematic production of defective equipment for the South Ukrainian nuclear power plant.

On November 22, a crack in the steam generator header, manufactured by the Atommash Amalgamation, led to a stop of the first power unit of the plant.

The steam generator, worth 3.5 million roubles and additional 110,000 roubles for a quality mark, worked for less than a year, while its service life should be dozen-fold longer.

Since the nuclear plant was launched similar defect have resulted in the failure of twelve atommash steam generators.

UN Delegates Sponsor Chernobyl Resolution

LD0211071690 Moscow TASS in English 0628 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Nikolay Maslov]

[Text] United Nations November 2 TASS—Belorussian and Ukrainian Foreign Ministers Pyotr Kravchenko and Anatoliy Zlenko, the leaders of the respective delegations at the 45th session of the United Nations General Assembly, as well as the permanent representatives of the Soviet Union, the Ukraine and Belorussia called on U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar on Thursday and exchanged views with him on the forthcoming discussion at the U.N. General Assembly of his report on the elimination of the aftermath of the breakdown at the Chernobyl nuclear power station.

The representatives of the Soviet delegations expressed gratitude to the U.N. chief for his work to enlist the international community's efforts for the elimination of the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster. They highly appreciated the work of the U.N. commission who visited the worst-affected areas of Belorussia, the Ukraine and Russia.

The Soviet delegates delivered a draft resolution to Perez de Cuellar on international cooperation to overcome and abate the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster.

Belorussia, the Ukraine and the USSR prepared the draft resolution in order to submit it for consideration at the 45th session of the U.N. General Assembly.

The document gives a high appraisal of the U.N. chief's report, invites U.N. member-nations to participate in international cooperation in Chernobyl clean-up operations and suggests that the matter be further considered at the 46th session of the U.N. General Assembly.

Perez de Cuellar welcomed the Soviet delegations' initiative. He said he supported the submitted draft resolution, hoping that it would be endorsed by the General Assembly on the basis of consensus.

Belorussia Appeals For Orderly Army Call-Up

LD0111183890 Minsk Domestic Service in Belorussian 0515 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] The Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium has released an appeal to citizens of the Belorussian SSR. It says that our people are going through difficult times. The processes that are taking place in the republic are not synchronous; at times they are contradictory. Now we are witnessing democratization and broadening of personl rights and freedoms. On the other hand, nationality tensions are increasing and the economic situation is deteriorating.

Of late, anti-Army feelings have been growing more rapidly. A campaign to undermine the autumn call-up has been unfurled. Leaflets are being disseminated which amount to an attempt to drive a wedge between the army and the people.

The Belorusian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appealed to all Soviet Organs, public organizations, conscripts themselves and their parents, and to all citizens of the republic to do everything possible to complete the autumn call-up in a disciplined manner.

Ondarza Visits Belorussian Military District

PM0211092590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Oct 90 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Lieutenant General H. von Ondarza, inspector of the FRG Army, who was in our country on an official visit, went to the Belorussian Military District. He was received by Colonel General A. Kostenko, commander of the district troops.

The guest from the FRG was present at tactical batallion training where defense combat was being practiced, he visited the district training center and observed weapon training and the use of combat vehicles, and he spoke to the personnel.

Lieutenant General H. von Ondarza left the USSR 27 October.

Caucasus

Georgian Supreme Soviet Election Results Published

AU0211124390 Paris AFP in English 1210 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Tbilisi, Soviet Union, Nov 2 (AFP) — Zviad Gamsakhurdia, 51, leader of the party which looks set to unseat the Communists in Soviet Georgia, is considered a father of nationalism in the republic.

The head of the Round Table-Free Georgia party said in an interview with AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE that the foundations for independence were being laid.

Round Table-Free Georgia was ahead as results came in from Soviet Georgia's first multiparty election Sunday, winning 114 seats to 60 for the Communists in the 250-seat Supreme Soviet (parliament). The nationalists virtually won the ballot with 54.03 per cent of the vote. The formerly all-powerful Communist Party only garnered 29.42 per cent.

A total of 69 seats, however, still had to be settled by a second majority vote November 11 as no party took a majority in these districts in the first round. The remaining seven seats in the parliament went to four independent candidates and three members of other parties.

Mr. Gamsakhurdia said: "These elections are of great significance." "We are laying the foundations of independent Georgia," he added.

Interviewed as the votes were being cast Sunday, he said that the resulting parliament would have to be used "to restore our sovereignty".

Nearly all the Soviet Union's 15 republics, including Russia, have passed declarations of sovereignty as tensions grow following the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe.

Mr. Gamsakhurdia said the Communists "are not going to play a very big role (in Georgia) because today the leading political force is the independent movement".

He said, however, that in Georgia in addition to the Communist Party there was a "very strong" Communist mafia, and armed forces.

In recent weeks he has been the target of two attacks when explosive devices were hurled at his car. Threats had been made to kidnap his two children aged 11 and 14, and his chief bodyguard had been killed.

He did not know whether he would accept to be president of the Georgian parliament. He said: "If Georgia were free it would be different. But it is too great a responsibility for as long as it remains an annexed country," he said.

Mr. Gamsakhurdia is considered to be a father of Georgian nationalism, together with Mirab Kostava who died in a car accident last year.

He has been imprisoned by the Soviet KGB secret police, detained in psychiatric hospitals and exiled. These periods totalled three years, and his political adversaries, noting that Mr. Kostava was imprisoned for a much longer period, have accused him of "colluding" with the Communists.

Mr. Gamsakhurdia replies vigorously to his opponents whether they be members of the Communist Party or of what he terms "pseudo parties" in the Georgian National Congress which refused to take part in the elections.

Mr. Gamsakhurdia is a poet, and has translated Shakespeare, Baudelaire and Walt Whitman into Georgian.

Gamsakhurdia Outlines Plans

LD0111225190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2130 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Interview with S.Z. Gamsakhurdia, leader of the Roundtable-Free Georgia coalition, by correspondent Nana Gongadze; place, date not given; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] [Gongadze] Are you pleased with the elections, with the results, with how they took place, and with the new corpus of the Georgian legislature?

[S.Z. Gamsakhurdia] I can say that I am only partly pleased because despite the united demonstration of will of the Georgian people which supported us, supported the true opposition, at the same time unfortunately there were, so to speak, violations of the election law.

[Gongadze] A TASS correspondent has reported that at the very first session you will adopt a declaration of Georgian independence. Is this correct?

[Gamsakhurdia] This is some kind of misunderstanding. Unfortunately, on the day when this question was discussed they misunderstood. We said that the first stage is a transitional period of preparations for independence, and the second stage is the announcement of independence. But we have not yet determined when this second stage will begin. The first question will be the regulations, so to speak, of the new legislature, its jurisdiction, and the question of relations between us and the Communist Party.

Yerevan Doubts Economic Benefits of New Treaty

NC0211132590 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0600 GMT 1 Nov 90

[From the review of HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN]

[Text] On its third page, the paper published an extensive article by ethnographer Granush Arakelyan entitled The Union Treaty and Nationalities Question. She writes in particular: What could the small nations expect to gain from the new Union treaty when the Russian empire is regarded as the sole beneficiary of that treaty? It has already declared itself to be the owner of the entire territory and of the underground and other resources of the Russian federation. Will it be possible to reconcile the [word indistinct] independent economic policy of Russia with the vital interests of the indigenous peoples spread over more than half of its territory, given the fact that those interests require a return to traditional economic relations? Already, the deputies from the North, speaking at the USSR Supreme Soviet sessions, are concerned with economic independence and securing the ownership of the mining and industrial complexes of the North so as to use them in the future for their own interests.

Coverage of Armenian Supreme Soviet Proceedings

Property Law Endorsed

NC0211112690 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1900 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] The Armenian Supreme Soviet met yesterday under the chairmanship of Levon Ter-Petrosyan and continued to examine the government's bill on property.

A principled debate developed around Articles 34 and 41 in the bill's fourth section. Article 34 referred to the property of the Armenian Republic and Article 41 to the transfer of land and other natural resources to the use of other states.

The extensive debate, which obviously aimed to create a perfect document emanating from the interests of the Armenian people that would spur the economic development of the Armenian Republic, introduced important amendments to the property bill.

The Armenian Republic's property bill was endorsed in its entirety during the evening session.

Thus, the Armenian legislature created a very important document which gives the Armenian people the opportunity to improve, in cooperation with the highest bodies of the government and the state authority and in line with the spirit and essence of the declaration on independence, the economy ruthlessly plundered for 70 years.

The basic guidelines for the stabilization of the national economy and for the introduction of market relations into the economy indicate that each sovereign republic has the right to formulate and implement measures by taking into account its own specific national and historical characteristics.

What are the possible avenues for the realization of this program given the conditions in Armenia? Our correspondent posed this question to Telman Ter-Petrosyan, director of the Razdanmekana association [machine-building association in the Armenian town of Razdan] and a member of the all-Union club of directors headed by academician Abel Aganbekyan. It was no mere coincidence to ask him. Telman Ter-Petrosyan is one of those leaders of the country's enterprises who back in 1985 were proposing the introduction of market system, believing that it was the only way to restore the Soviet economy to health.

Telman Ter-Petrosyan noted that Armenia must contribute to that important economic reform in stages. It is obvious that during the transition to market relations the institution of property ownership is also emerging. This could be in the form of shareholding or public, private, or cooperative ownership. A correct decision should be made regarding which of these might radically improve this or that economic branch of the republic.

New Appointments Debated

NC0211141190 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Yerevan, 2 Nov (ARMENPRES)—The government version of the draft law "On the Property in the Armenian Republic" was discussed during the Armenian Supreme Soviet's full sessions on 30 and 31 October under the chairmanship of Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet. Grant Bagratyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee for Economy, provided a detailed interpretation of the law.

Differing views were expressed about specific articles in almost every section of the bill, and editorial amendments and new drafting were proposed.

Sharp debate developed in particular around the land ownership. Differences were expressed also about those articles which regulate the disposition and management of state property and the allocation of the Republic's lands and other resources for the use by other states.

After two days of detailed discussions—which disrupted the session's regular schedule and caused the full sessions to last for four days instead of two—the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet accepted the law "On Property in the Armenian Republic" and decided to put it into force.

The session then debated a number of questions regarding the [28 October] election of people's deputies to the local councils and the organization of the repeat elections, and it adopted relevant decisions.

On 1 November, the legislature met under Gagik Arutyunyan, deputy chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, and debated a number of nominations proposed by Prime Minister Vazgen Manukyan. After extensive debate, Robert Avoyan was confirmed as the Armenian Republic's communications minister [kapi nakharar], and Romeo Dzhulakyan as the chairman of the State Committee for Architecture and Urban Development.

The legislature then ended its deliberations for the week.

Armenia Seeks Ties With Other Republics

91US0053A Yerevan GOLOS ARMENII in Russian 12 Oct 90 p 3

[Article by ARMENPRESS correspondent A. Khachatryan, ARMENPRESS: "On the Path Towards Establishing Stable Ties"]

[Text] The establishment and consolidation of closer political, economic, and cultural ties with the Union republics is tremendously important today for the Republic of Armenia. The first steps are being taken in this direction. Quite recently Supreme Soviet delegations returned to Yerevan following trips to Central Asia, the Baltic republics, Moldova [Moldavia], and Belorussia. Delegation members discussed the aims and results of their trips with our ARMENPRESS correspondent.

Shagen Petrosyan, member of the Supreme Soviet Commission on Foreign Relations Issues:

The aim of my trip to the Central Asian republics with Deputy Albert Bagdasaryan was to establish inter-state and inter-parliamentary ties, to conduct negotiations on opening up permanent representations in these republics. We went to Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, met with members of the corresponding commissions of the Supreme Soviets of these republics, and discussed matters concerning the establishment of direct political, economic, and cultural ties. As members of the governing body of the Armenian Pannational Movement, we met with the chairman and members of the governing body of the "Birlik" ("Unity") people's movement organization. They were interested primarily in our attitude towards Islam. Only after they became convinced that there was no religious confrontation in the conflict between Armenia and our neighboring republic and that the subject of discussion was national self-determination, did our discussion become less constrained. We related to them the democratic processes taking place in Armenia and the present status of the republic.

During a meeting between the comparable Supreme Soviet commissions of our republics, we raised the question of establishing a permanent school and church center for the local Armenian community.

The people's movements "Rastokhez" ("Rebirth"), "Ru-ba-ru" ("Face to Face"), and the Democratic Party are working in close cooperation with one another to create a democratic bloc in Dushanbe. We extended them an official invitation to come to Armenia for the Second Congress of the Armenian Pannational Movement. In Samarkand we had a brief conversation with the gorispolkom [city executive committee] chairman who promised to facilitate the establishment of an Armenian cultural center.

Our meeting with representatives of the Armenian community took place in a warm atmosphere. We assured them that henceforth our ties will become more solid, and that we will be more attentive with respect to external Armenian communities. An instructor cadre will be sent there in the near future to render assistance, along with textbooks and literature in the arts and sciences in the Armenian language.

Ovanes Igityan, member of the Supreme Soviet Commission on Foreign Relations Issues:

I traveled to the Baltic region, Moldova, and Belorussia with Shavarsh Kocharyan, deputy chairman of the standing commission. We familiarized people with the political processes taking place in Armenia through appearances on television, articles in the local press, and an appearance in the Lithuanian parliament.

As we expected, information concerning Armenia is not reaching these republics, or reaches them only through TASS channels, with distorted facts.

Already we have signed a communique with V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet, and representatives of the Commission on Foreign Relations Issues concerning a meeting on matters of maintaining permanent bilateral inter-state and inter-parliamentary ties, on opening up in Armenia a permanent representation of the Lithuanian Republic and in Lithuania—a permanent representation of the Armenian Republic, and on other matters. We signed similar communiques with the republics of Latvia and Moldova. A draft communique has been drawn up in Estonia.

Armenian Word 'Nakharar' To Replace 'Minister'

NC0211095190 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] Yerevan, 1 Nov (ARMENPRES)—Lately, the term nakharar is often substituted for minister in the Armenian Republic's press, in official and other publications, in the radio and television broadcasts, and at public speeches.

To eliminate the unnecessary parallelism in the use of these terms and considering the majority views of the relevant departments of the republic's higher institutes, editors and publishers of the newspapers and monthlies, the local terminology commissions of the Terminology Committee, and of individuals, the Terminology Committee attached to the Armenian republic's Council of Ministers has decided that henceforth the term nakharar and its derivatives should be used instead of the term minister and its derivatives.

Prosecutors Reportedly Agree on Regular Meetings

PM0211092990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Oct 90 Union Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent A. Dzhalilov: "Seated at Negotiating Table"]

[Text] Baku—A. Gevarkyan, prosecutor of the Republic of Armenia, and I. Gaibov, prosecutor of the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], have had a meeting in Armenia's Idzhevanskiy Rayon.

Seated with them around the negotiating table were representatives of the Prosecutor's Office of the Azerbaijan SSR's Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, prosecutors, and internal affairs department and KGB chiefs from a number of border rayons.

After exchanging information on the state of the situation in the region, the meeting participants discussed questions connected with the adoption of the necessary measures to normalize the situation and ensure the safety of the population in the border rayons and to fulfill the USSR president's decree on disarming and disbanding illegal armed formations and on the state of the investigation into criminal cases and also offenses which have taken place on grounds of interethnic enmity.

Both sides recognized the need for regular meetings of leaders of the republic prosecutor's offices, as well as prosecutors in the border rayons, with a view to achieving coordinated activity in resolving the problems that arise.

With a view to making a rapid response to situations and disputed issues that arise, it was also decided to create prompt communications services within the framework of the departments to supervise the fulfillment of legislation in interethnic relations.

Azerbaijan, Turkey Develop Transport Links

LD0111220390 Moscow TASS in English 2151 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Baku November 2 TASS—Azerbaijan and Turkey will be connected by air, railway and automobile communications.

In accordance with an agreement between the two countries, the Azeravtodor Amalgamation and foreign firms has been instructed to build roads from Azerbaijan to Turkey in two years. Azerbaijan's bridge-building units, railway workers, electrification departments and leading design institutes will help implement the plan, the Azerbaijani Government has decided.

The sides agreed that the border point for communications between the two countries will be in Sadarak of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic. The republic borders on Turkey and Iran. It is separated from Azerbaijan by Armenian territory. A bridge will span the Araks River, which separates the Soviet Union from Turkey.

An international telephone line will be built in the first half of 1991 to help coordinate partners' activities. The line will later be used for exchanges of information and postal and telegraph services.

The sides have also discussed financing transport and communications and agreed to [word indistinct] shipping and border trade, a government report reads.

Azerbaijan Rail Traffic Resumes After Accident

LD0211172690 Moscow TASS in English 1711 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Baku November 2 TASS—After a 15-hour break brought about by the collision of two goods trains on the Kilyazi-Zarat section of the Azerbaijani railway, the rail traffic between Azerbaijan and the northern Caucasus has been fully restored. Trains left for Baku and Derbent from there at 1500 Moscow time today.

As a result of the accident last night, fifteen railway carriages and one of the two electric locomotives went off the rails, and the rails and the electrical contact system were damaged, said A. Babayev, first deputy head of the Azerbaijani railway. Obviously, the engine driver of one of the trains was at fault. One train ignored warning signals and ran into the back of the train in front. No loss of life was reported.

Mutalibov Asks Armenian Deputy To Leave NKAO

NC0111144190 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0700 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] The USSR People's Deputy Zori Balayan has sent a cable to the Soviet President Gorbachev, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Lukyanov, Soviet Internal Affairs Minister Bakatin, and the Ethics Commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The cable says: Late on the night of 29 October, senior officers from the office of the commandant of the regional state of emergency arrived in the reception room of the USSR people's deputies in Stepanakert. They declared that they were authorized to read a letter from Azerbaijani President Mutalibov, though they refused to hand it to me. In conveying the strict tone of that document and its hurtful lines directed against a USSR people's deputy, they called on me to terminate my activities as a deputy and leave Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]; otherwise, the representatives of the commandant's office stressed, my security cannot be ensured.

Such a statement is nothing but a threat against a USSR people's deputy by the Azerbaijani leadership and the military authorities which implement the former's policy. No danger could come to me in my home from my own people. This is not the first such (?threat). It is significant that, every time, the causes of the tension in the NKAO are premeditatedly connected with the USSR people's deputies from the NKAO. This is an attempt to exonerate from blame the real culprits of the organized crimes who are claiming many victims from among the peaceful Armenian population of NKAO. My effort as a deputy to protect my people and to inform the public about the truth in the NKAO occasions all sorts of illegal actions by the Azerbaijani leadership.

In line with the law on the status of the USSR people's deputies, I demand that the USSR People's Deputy Mutalibov be brought to account with those persons who are accessories to the implementation of the provocative measures.

Trade Union Council Endorses NKAO's Membership

NC0211125490 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0400 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] The trade union organization of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] has become a member of the Soviet Union's general confederation of trade unions. The 19th trade union congress held in Moscow made this decision. The congress declared that the trade unions of the autonomous formations, in addition to those of the constituent republics, could also become members of the existing confederation.

This news was welcomed in Artsakh [NKAO]. It was the first time that the decisions of a general all-Union congress were democratic and the first time the local (?organizations) were allowed to fully express their (?views) on the defense of the workers' rights.

This decision is particularly important because at the end of September, the presidium of the Azerbaijani trade union council arbitrarily and illegally banned the activities of the oblast trade union council and its structures.

Sergey Davityan, the sole delegate from NKAO and chairman of the oblast soviet, spoke to the trade union (?newspaper) in Stepanakert about the difficult struggle at the congress to win membership for the autonomous formations.

During the meeting, the conversation centered mostly on the problems faced by the oblast trade unions. It was stressed that report-back elections must be held and the structure of the oblast trade union organization must be improved in line with its membership of the confederation. A separate constitution and a program of activities must be formulated.

As we can see, the genuinely just approach toward the interests of all the country's ethnic formations did not produce any undesirable results. If all the problems of the restructuring were solved as intelligently, in a civilized manner as this, then today there would have been no need to use the military to defend the artificially created structures in the NKAO, one of which is the so-called Republican Organizational Committee. However, the example of the trade unions is, for the time being unfortunately an exception, which is why so far the state of emergency is still maintained in the NKAO and human rights are crudely violated on the basis of people's national identity. That is why the NKAO's women and war and labor veterans felt the need to appeal to the internal troops deployed in the oblast [words indistinct]. Their appeal stresses: Our people favor a peaceful and just political solution to the NKAO problem. Here we rely on your assistance and, as the USSR Supreme Soviet decided, you are required to defend the citizens' rights and to ensure the civil peace and the population's security. Each NKAO resident is ready to help you solve these problems. At the same time, we appeal to you not to become a tool at the hands of the leadership of the Azerbaijani Republic, which uses you to suppress our national liberation movement.

Central Asia

Kirghiz Legislature Votes on Military Service

PM0211093590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Oct 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by "Our Correspondent": "Servicemen's Proposal Adopted"]

[Text] A session of the Kirghiz Supreme Soviet discussed questions of military service by indigenous nationals and the siting of troop units on the republic's territory.

People's Deputies Colonel I. Zubko and V. Karabanov made a concrete proposal regarding the need for the republic's citizens to carry out the USSR Law on Universal Military Service and also to give priority to siting troops on Kirghiz SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] territory in the interests of ensuring the country's security. Legislators adopted the military deputies' proposal.

Tajik Draft Decision Complicates Military's Work

PM0211093990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Oct 90 Union Edition p 2

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent Aleksandr Karpov under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Fall Draft Contradictions"]

[Text] Dushanbe—The Tajik SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet has adopted a resolution on new conditions for drafting young men into the Army. The document has entered into force and considerably complicated the work of the republic's military commissariats.

The resolution in particular envisages drafting young men from Tajikstan into construction troops sited solely on the territory of the Turkestan Military District. What is more, the date when students at construction-technical vocational and technical colleges as well as technical schools start Army service is postponed until they have fully completed their training and one year's work in their specialism. Guys from families who lost their elder sons in the war in Afghanistan or as the result of an accident during peacetime military service are totally exempted from the draft.

Military commissariats will fail to receive almost 30 percent of draftees if the Army draft is carried out in compliance with all the resolution's provisions. The military command has only accepted one of the resolution's provisions—that concerning the families of dead soldiers—as undoubtedly humane.

Military commissariat leaders believe that the contradictions inherent in the Union and republic state acts regulating the fall draft into the Army are the reason for many young people's refusing to serve altogether. Only one in two recruits are voluntarily turning up at draft posts.

Niyazov Interviewed on State, Party Postings

LD0111135990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Interview with Saparmurad Atayevich Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee and president-elect of Turkmenia, by correspondent Annageldiy Orazdurdyyev in Ashkhabad; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Orazdurdyyev] Saparmurad Atayevich, in assuming the office of president of Turkmenistan, do you think that it is possible and necessary to remain in the post of first secretary of the Central Committee of the republic's Communist Party?

[Niyazov] The population expects too much of the present—a strengthening of interethnic friendship, the restoration of order, the fight against profiteering and law-breaking—and of course, to hold both the party leadership and the office of president at the present stage is very difficult. However, so as not t allow confrontations and splits between the party and the soviets, the party and those in power, I believe that for two or three years it is necessary to combine these offices to as great an extent as is possible.

[Orazdurdyyev] Saparmurad Atayevich, you argue that it is now inadmissible for there to be confrontation between the party and the soviets, but on the whole are the republic's party committees changing. Their former functions of power?

[Niyazov] Of course the party now has to alter its functions. The party has just given up responsibility for the arrangements relating to economic cadres, ministers, and a whole range of others. The republican and party organizations now only keep the nomenklatura for party cadres; they have not started to get more involved, or rather are less involved with economic issues. The rights of the Soviets (?have been increased), and I think that at some stage the rights of the soviet should be greater, as should the people's trust in the soviets. I think that this should happen in the not too distant future. In such a case it will then be possible to define the responsibilities of the posts of president and of Central Committee first secretary.

Nevertheless, in the immediate future we are going to examine the possibility of changing the structure of the Central Committee. A proposal has come from a series of Central Committee members to abolish the office of first secretary of the Central Committee and create the office of chairman of the party. This chairman of the party would be freed from the ordinary, daily party functions and would be left with only the strategic issues of the party's activities. Routine party work and organizational work should be given to the deputy party secretary and the secretaries of the Central Committee of the Turkmen Communist Party. So it is possible that we will put proposals of this kind to the next Central Committee plenum so that the Communists can examine them.

Favors New Union Treaty

LD0211094290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0430 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] [Announcer] Work is continuing on the Union treaty which will be submitted for signing to the Union republics. What does Turkmenia's president think of the Union treaty? Annageldiy Orazdurdyyev, our correspondent in Ashkhabad, addressed this question to Comrade Niyazov:

[Begin Niyazov recording] I think that a Union of free peoples can exist only on the basis of voluntary consent in these forms and in those conditions which are dictated by their common interests.

The current situation in the national economy vividly testifies to what the Union means for our republic and what are the consequences of its weakening.

The disruption of ties between sectors of the economy and enterprises located in various republics and regions has become one of the causes of the state of crisis in the economy and has created serious difficulties for people's survival.

It must be clear now: We will not be able to overcome these difficulties unless cooperation within the framework of an integral national economy complex is restored. We are in favor of concluding a new Union treaty in a renewed federation. At present many see in this the only possible method of averting the growth of destabilizing trends, of restoring the normal activity of state and social institutes, and of creating the prerequisites for getting the country out of the crisis as soon as possible. Our republic, too, is in favor of the soonest possible drawing-up and conclusion of a new Union treaty. [end recording]

[Announcer] That was an interview given by Turkmenia's first president Saparmurad Atayevich Niyazov.

Now a piece of information: At the session of the Turkmenian legislature President Niyazov, who was recently elected to this post by a nationwide vote, will be sworn in today. He is 50 years old and has a higher education. He is a engineering physicist [inzhener-fizik] by profession. He is married and has two children.

Uzbekistan President Views Interethnic Relations

LD0111155990 Moscow TASS in English 1444 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Vladimir Pruge]

[Text] Tashkent November 1 TASS—One's nationality will never become a reason for legal discrimination against residents of Uzbekistan, Republican President Islam Karimov told the republican parliament today.

Karimov said reports that negative attitudes towards the Russian-speaking population are growing in the republic are untrue and cause tension in interethnic relations. "We should strengthen our friendship and respect each other," he said.

The republic faces serious economic tasks connected with the transition to market relations. In these conditions, only the unity of multinational Uzbekistan, where representatives of over 100 nationalities live, will permit movement ahead and increase the people's well-being, the president said.

Uzbekistan Supreme Soviet Session Continues

LD0111135790 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 0215 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] The third session of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [UzSSR] Supreme Soviet of the 12th convocation continued its work on 31 October. The session was opened by Ibragimov, chairman of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet. Karimov, president of the UzSSR and first secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the session. He said that rumors have recently been spread in the republic about an individual approach to the Russian speaking population allegedly being strengthened through the central press and other ways. He said these rumors are not true and contribute to aggravating interethnic relations.

After this the deputies began to discuss draft laws. Karimov, chairman of the committee on questions of legality and lawfulness and law and order, read a report on the draft law on strengthening social and private support to militia workers. The deputies adopted the draft as a basis and passed it over to the [word indistinct] commission for the final drafting.

Later, the draft regulations on the UzSSR Military Commissariat was examined. Mirsaydov, chairman of the UzSSR Council of Ministers talked on this subject. The draft regulations were then discussed. The deputies, taking into consideration the observations and proposals put forward during the discussion, adopted the regulations on the Military Commissariat of the UzSSR.

The deputies adopted a UzSSR law presented by the committee for legality and lawfulness and law and order on strengthening the responsibility for corruption and (?speculations) [word indistinct] in the second discussion.

The Russian language newspaper of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet, NARODNOYE SLOVO, was established. Mukhtarov, chairman of the UzSSR Union of Journalists and a USSR people's deputy, was confirmed as chief editor of KHALK SOZI and of NARODNOYE SLOVO.

The Constitutional Supervision Committee of the UzSSR and the Central Electoral Commission organizing elections for the UzSSR people's deputies introduced changes in the order of [word indistinct] a few oblasts and Tashkent city. Akhmedov, chairman of the UzSSR State Committee on Prices was elected chairman of the Central Electoral Commission.

The Supreme Soviet Commission for Questions of Defense was renamed the UzSSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense, State Security and Questions of Social Support to Military Officials. Deputy Niyazmatov was elected chairman of the committee.

By a decision of the Supreme Soviet, the (?Union) Ministry of Internal Affairs of the republic was changed to a republican ministry. A decision was adopted to cancel the authority as a UzSSR people's deputy of Satin and Usatov for having left the republic and failure to fulfill their duty as deputies and at their personal requests.

The Supreme Soviet changed the date of the decree adopted previously on relieving Khodzhayev, former deputy chairman of the UzSSR Council of Ministers, and Yakubzhnov, former minister of social security of the UzSSR of the posts they were occupying.

The session continues its work today.

Russian-Speakers' Rights Examined

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[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The Uzbek Supreme Soviet today examines the question of defending the rights of the republic's Russian-speaking population.

Over four days of work, the republic's legislature has examined more than twenty questions. Laws on these questions have been adopted, among them the renaming of the Council of Ministers to the Cabinet of Ministers under the Uzbek Presidential Council. In other words, the session voted for unified power in the republic.

There was a stormy reception for President Karimov's report that the central press and other means are being used to spread the idea of supposedly increasing negative relations towards the Russian-speaking population. All this, as was said here, does not correspond to reality, but may lead to tension in interethnic relations.

Certain facts were established at the session: Yes, after the events in Fergana, there was an emigration of the Russian-speaking population, but today the departure from Uzbekistan of Germans and Jews is an all-Union problem. [passage omitted]

The session adopted an appeal to the Uzbek population and the USSR Supreme Soviet. At a time when stabilization of the political situation in the republic has been targetted, there should be no outside pressure, and nations and nationalities should not be in a state of confrontation, either in Uzbekistan or in the entire country. [passage omitted]